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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXVII.

July 1903.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCXXXIII.

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"WHERE THE SUN (LIGHT) NEVER SETS."

VISIT OF THE INDIAN CORONATION CONTINGENT TO PORT SUNLIGHT.

To those members of the Indian Army who have been privileged to visit England, the memory of the reception which they received by all classes in the Mother Country will never fade. Wherever they went there was an enthusiastic welcome. But nowhere was the welcome more cordial than at Port Sunlight, the village which is known all over the world as the home of Sunlight Soap. Messrs. Lever Brothers took advantage of the visit paid by our brothers to Liverpool, and invited them to view their works and village. The invitation was accepted, and on Monday, July 28th, the entire contingent, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Dawson, travelled by special steamer from Liverpool to New Ferry, where they were met by the Port Sunlight Silver Prize Band, and escorted to Port Sunlight, about a mile and-a-half away, through gaily-decked streets lined with cheering crowds of people. Flags and banners were displayed at every point, and the day being gloriously fine, the scene was most enchanting. As the stalwart soldiers marched along, many complimentary remarks were heard, and the impression they created was highly flattering. Mr. W. H. Lever, the Chairman and founder of the company, received the contingent at the door of the Offices, and each detachment was guided through the works by an official. The reserve so noticeable in the Indian soldiery was somewhat broken down, as wonder after wonder was viewed; and many expressions of delight and astonishment passed from man to man as they visited the various departments. After leaving the works, the detachments were re-formed, and entered Hulme Hall—a large and handsome dining room for the work girls—where the officers and men were entertained with light refreshments, fruit, cigars, cigarettes, &c. Before leaving the hall each man was presented with a book containing views of the Village and Works, describing in detail many points of interest to the visitor, and also a cardbox containing sample tablets of Sunlight Soap, each box bearing labels in the seven principal Indian languages. The men were charmed with their visit, and those who could speak a little English expressed their regret that they had only been able to stay such a short time. To the villagers the sight of a body of men of such splendid physique and attired in such varied uniforms was educational, and the distinctly polite, gentlemanly manner of all the soldiers impressed everyone. There was at no time the slightest semblance of rushing or crowding. Everything was done in the most orderly style, and where favours were conferred the soldiers were profuse in their thanks. On the other hand, our Indian brothers will take back to their countrymen and to their loved ones in India pleasant stories of their visit to Port Sunlight, and a tangible gift with ample and easily read descriptions of the uses of that Sunlight Soap of which they have often heard, which has made the pretty village on the Mersey possible and famous.

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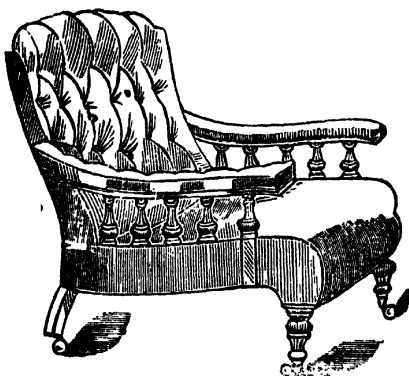
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 233—JULY 1903.

ART. I.—PAINTING IN ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL INDIA.

PLACE OF PAINTING AMONG THE FINE ARTS.

OF the fine arts—five in number—it is the business of painting to imitate natural objects by representing them as they are represented on the retina of the eye itself, simply as an assemblage of lines and colours on a flat surface. It dispenses with the third dimension altogether. “The character and disposition of the lines and colours in painting are determined by two things, the local colours of the objects themselves, and their shapes and positions in space. Painting does not reproduce the third dimension of reality by any third dimension of its own whatever, but leaves the eye to infer the solidity, the recession and projection, the nearness and remoteness of objects, by the same perspective signs by which it also infers those facts in nature—namely, by the direction of their several boundary lines, the incidence and distribution of their lights and shadows, the strength or faintness of their tones of colour. Hence this art has an infinitely greater range and freedom than any form of sculpture.”* Among the five arts painting stands above two—if not three. According to Auguste Comte architecture is the lowest—being lowest in complexity, because of the kinds of effects which it produces, and the material conditions and limitations under which it works. Sculpture comes next; painting third; then music and poetry highest as the most complex or comprehensive art of all, “both in its own special effects and in its resources for ideally calling up the effects of all the other arts, as well as all the phenomena of nature and experiences of life.”

Hegel said in effect something like this—“In certain ages and among certain races, as in Egypt and Assyria, and again in the Gothic age of Europe mankind has only dim ideas for art to express, ideas insufficiently disengaged and realized, of

* Sidney Colvin in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.
VOL. CXVII.]

which the expression cannot be complete or lucid, but only adumbrated and imperfect; the characteristic art of those ages is a symbolic art, with its material element predominating over and keeping down its spiritual, and such symbolic art is architecture. In other ages, as in the Greek age, the ideas of men have come to be definite, disengaged, and clear; the characteristic art of such an age will be one in which the spiritual and material elements are in equilibrium, and, neither predominates over or keeps down the other, but a perfectly distinct idea is expressed in a perfectly adequate form; this is the mode of expression called classic, and the classic art is sculpture. In other ages, again, and such are the modern ages of Europe, the idea grows in power and becomes importunate; the spiritual and material elements are no longer in equilibrium, but the spiritual element predominates; the characteristic arts of such an age will be those in which thought, passion, sentiment, aspiration, emotion, emerge in freedom, dealing with material form as masters, or declining its shackles altogether; this is the romantic mode of expression and the romantic arts are painting, music and poetry.”*

According to Dr. Hermann Lotze—one of the acutest of recent critics of aesthetic systems—music will come first, because it has neither to imitate any natural facts nor to serve any practical end; architecture next, because though tied to useful ends and material conditions, it is free from the task of imitation, and pleases the eye in its degree, by pure form, light and shade, and the rest; then as “arts tied to the task of imitation, sculpture, painting and poetry, taken in progressive order according to the progressing comprehensiveness of their several resources.”

PREVAILING OPINION.

Some people have gone the length of asserting dogmatically that because painting occupies this high place among the fine arts therefore ancient India had nothing to do with it. The people pre-suppose that the civilisation of ancient India can be called a civilisation only by courtesy. And their assertions only declare a deplorable degree of ignorance of the civilisation on which they sit in judgment. Even a sympathetic writer on *Indian Art*—who has, in the concluding paragraph of his paper, admitted that “the mediæval art of India, at least, is worthy of critical study,” and deplored that “the subject has hitherto been unfortunate in not securing more advocates” has been led away by popular prejudice to declare that “India has nothing to do with painting. A recognition of the demands of this highest development of

* The *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

creative art, will prevent the attempt to look for it in any country in Asia.* The reasons of this ignorance and opinion are manifold. Very few of the critics know well the language, in which the spirit of ancient Indian civilisation is embalmed. Only a few travellers can be expected to undergo the trials of a tedious and trying journey to the caves at Ajantâ and Bâgh where specimens of painting still attempt to resist the decay due to a destructive climate and, the "wanton damage done by ignorant men." And strange as it may seem, the copies of paintings in the Ajantâ caves—now yielding to the damage done by bees, bats and barbarians—made by the Government have been more than once destroyed.† But when one takes into consideration the deplorable paucity of materials one cannot be harsh on the critics who labour under the double disadvantage of being aliens and strangers to the customs, the creeds, the sentiments and the prejudices of the peoples. It is a disgrace for the Indians that these aliens have dived deeper into the dim recesses of a distant past in their search after ancient Indian civilisation than the Indians themselves. It is neither profitable nor proper to be unnecessarily hard on men to whom we owe what little knowledge we already possess of Indian archæology.

PAUCITY OF MATERIALS.

That Indian Society afforded but little encouragement to the genius of the artist must be admitted. A society in which position was fixed, and in which the position of the artist was fixed very low, cannot be said to be the society in which art could develop and flourish. In such a society, save in the case of a caste, art is likely to degenerate and become the pastime of a leisured class. And this was the fate which overtook painting in India during the sixth, the seventh and the eighth centuries, when painting became a pastime in the palace and in the *zenana*. If in spite of this social system,—the comparative degradation and contempt in which professional artists were held, we find instances of artists soaring beyond the fixed rules of their art, and giving indications of bold conceptions and great ideas—it is because nothing can restrain genius from expression when the man of genius is harassed by "the strong inward call, the cruel-sweet pangs of parturition."

Then the trying climate of India must be held responsible

* The *Calcutta Review*. Vol. LXXVIII - 1884.

† The copies of these paintings made by the late Major (then Captain) R. Gill of the Madras Army were destroyed by fire in the latter part of 1866. A second set of copies completed in 1885 at a cost of more than half a lakh of rupees was placed in the Indian Museum at South Kensington and was lost by fire and through carelessness.

for helping and hastening the work of natural decay. In this climate colours fade, canvas crumbles into ruin and paper and palm leaf decay rapidly.

Then, again, worship was paid to the images or likenesses of the gods and goddesses painted on white canvas.* And this worship with sandal-wood paste and perchance with vermilion mixed with oil must have disfigured the likeness of many a god.

If we add to these the fact that the iconoclastic zeal of some Mahomedan conquerors must be held responsible for perpetrating many acts of vandalism—for ruthlessly destroying religious buildings which the ruffian hand of war or the tyrant touch of time had spared, we shall be able to understand why we have so few relics of this art received from ancient India. For, in India, the genius of the artist displayed itself chiefly in temples and topes. "The art of ancient India has always been a purely religious one * * * was never and nowhere employed for secular purposes."†

"Stress must be laid on the fact that in comparison with the vast extent of the country, the monuments are far from numerous, that great numbers of them have been destroyed through the indolence or by the sheer vandalism of men of other faiths, so that considerable monumental groups, in good preservation, remain only where the districts subsequently became deserted and the monuments were consequently forgotten, and so saved from direct destruction at the hand of man; or where as happened in Ceylon, the old religion remained and protected the monuments of olden times."‡

PAINTING IN ANCIENT SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

We agree with Professor Weber in admitting that the last fifteen *Adhāyas* of the White Yajur Veda are a later addition. But we cannot agree with the learned Professor in assigning to the present redaction of the *Sanchitā* of the White Yajur a date as late as the third century B. C.§

Of the date of the Vedas Professor Max Müller says:—"The work of collecting the prayers for the different classes of priests, and of adding new hymns and formulas for purely sacrificial purposes, belonged probably to the tenth century B.C. and three generations more would, at least, be required to account for the various readings adopted in the prayer-books by different sects, and invested with a kind of sacred authority, long before the composition of even the earliest among the *Brahmanas*. If, therefore, the years from about

* See *Kātyāyana*.

† Grunwedel—*Buddhist Art in India*.

‡ Grunwedel—*Buddhist Art in India*.

§ Weber—*History of Indian Literature*.

1000 to 800 B. C. are assigned to this collecting age, the time before 1000 B. C. must be set apart for the free and natural growth of what was then national and religious, but not yet sacred and sacrificial poetry. How far back this period extends it is impossible to tell.* In a later work the Professor allows 1500 B. C. as the date when the Vedas, such as we now have them, were composed.† Professor Whitney gives 2000 to 1500 B. C. for the Rig Veda hymns, and Dr. Marten Haug allows 2000 to 1400 B. C. for those hymns, while for the earliest of them he claims a still remoter date.‡ Pundit Umes Chandra Batabyāl—a profound Vedic scholar is of opinion that Madhu Chanda, the Vedic sage, flourished about 1500 B. C.§ When we consider these facts we cannot, even admitting that the last fifteen *Adhyāys* of the White Yajur Veda are a later addition, assign to them a date as late as the third century B. C. In the 30th chapter of the White Yajur Veda we meet with the names of various professions; and there we read of painters and engravers. Therefore at the time of the present redaction of the Samhitā of the White Yajur Veda, at least, the profession of the painter was recognised in society.

From the Yajur Veda we return to the voluminous and luminous pages of the *Mahabharata*. Here too the chief difficulty lies in fixing the date. "The great war which is the subject of this Epic is believed to have been fought in the thirteenth or fourteenth century before Christ. For generations and centuries after the war its main incidents must have been sung by bards and minstrels in the courts of Northern India. The war thus became the centre of a cycle of legends, songs, and poems in ancient India. * * * And then, probably under the direction of some enlightened king, the vast mass of legends and poetry, accumulated during centuries, was cast in a narrative form and formed the Epic of the Great Bharata nation.* * * The Epic became so popular that it went on growing with the growth of centuries. Every generation of poets had something to add; every distant nation in Northern India was anxious to interpolate some account of its deeds in the old record of the international war; every preacher of a new creed desired to have in the old Epic some sanction for the new truths he inculcated.* * * All the floating mass of tales, traditions, legends and myths, for which ancient India was famous, found a shelter under the expanding wings of this wonderful Epic."|| An attempt was made, a few

* Max Müller—*Lecture on the Vedas*.

† Max Müller—*India, what can it teach us?*

‡ R. C. Dutt—*Ancient India*.

§ The *Sāhitya*.

|| R. C. Dutt—*The Mahābhārata*.

centuries after Christ according to Dr. Bühler, to prevent further additions and alterations. The contents of the Epic were described in some prefatory verses, and the number of couplets in each book was stated. Hence it is impossible to determine the date of the *Mahābhārata* and its supplement the *Harivamsa*. But the antiquity of these works cannot be gainsaid. And here too we have evidence of a high development of the art in ancient India. Ushā the fair daughter of the *Asura* king Bana saw in her dream, and became enamoured of a handsome young man. Her love for this unknown young man, seen in a dream, grew and grew; and she became disconsolate. Her female attendants who bore their mistress a great love were at a loss to find out a device to know anything about the young man. At last they hit upon a plan. They resolved to utilise the skill of their friend Chitrālekṣhā—the artist. She came, and from the love-lorn Ushā received a description of her beloved. She set to paint pictures of beautiful young men. Portrait after portrait was executed. And at last the figure of Aniruddha stood out from the panel in all the splendour of his divine beauty. Ushā was transported with joy at the sight of her lover's likeness. We have nothing to do with the sequel of the story. But we know from it that the art was highly developed in ancient India.

In the *Rāmāyana* there are repeated mentions of picture galleries. But unfortunately the difficulty of fixing the date of the epic is as insurmountable as the difficulty of fixing the date of the *Mahābhārata*. And in the case of the *Rāmāyana*, too, the work of interpolation must have gone on for generations and centuries.

PAINTING IN THE BUDDHIST PERIOD AND AFTER.

EVIDENCE OF LITERATURE.

That in the Buddhist period painting reached a high pitch of excellence in India, we shall be able to prove from the paintings in the cave temples. Literature too bears ample evidence. Nagnajita, we learn, composed a work on architecture, sculpture, painting and kindred arts.

Fā-Hian (about 399 A.D.) relates, that certain kings sent artists to copy the likeness of Buddha which had been left in a cave. "South of the city of Nagarakāra there is a cavern, it is in a south-west side of a high mountain; Buddha left his shadow here. At a distance of ten paces or so, we see it, like the true form of Buddha, of a gold colour, with the marks and signs perfectly clear and shining. On going near to it, or far off, it becomes less and less like the reality. The kings

of the bordering countries have sent able artists to copy the likeness, but they have not been able to do so." *

Commenting on the above Mr. Griffiths says, "From this description I have no doubt that the 'shadow' was a veritable portrait painted in colour, on the wall of the cave, with such skill that the artists failed to copy it. The reference to gold colour—the light golden-brown tint of the Ajantâ figures—and the point of view from which the picture should be seen, indicate that it was a painting.†

Fâ-Hian further says that he remained at Tamralipti for two years, writing out copies of the sacred books (*sutras*) and drawing image pictures.

Hiwen Tshang (about 630 A. D.) mentions that artists from Bactria were employed to paint the Buddhist *Vihâras* during the time of Kanishka Râjâ of Gândhâra, and that the convent of Sha-lo-kia (Serika) was celebrated for its mural paintings.‡ We also read of a large painted figure of Buddha on the southern side of the stone steps of the great Stûpa built by King Kanishka.

Fergusson conjectured that, besides the Gândhâra school of sculpture an early school of painting existed in Gândhâra.§

Next we come to the work of Târanâtha the illustrious histriographer. His real name was Kun-sjing. He was born in 1575 and composed his work in 1608. He belonged to the Jonang school of monks. He cites authorities and shows a historical feeling, very alien to the Oriental world generally. The existence and importance of his work were first made known to Western students by Vassilieu, who used it freely in his work on Buddhism,|| and the book itself was translated by Schiefuer from the Tibetan, and published at St. Petersburg in 1869. Târanâtha says: "In former days,

* Beal—*Buddhist Records*, vol. i.

† Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantâ*.

‡ Beal—*Buddhist Records* vol. i.

§ Gândhâra is Peshâwar. The description the Chinese pilgrims of the capital, which they call *Pulu-sha-pulo* or Parashapura "is an exact description of the position of Peshâwar, which down to the time of Akbar still bore its old name of *Parashâwar*, under which form it is mentioned by Abul Fazi and Baber, and still earlier by Abu Rihân and the Arab geographers of the tenth century."—*Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*.

"The great city now called Peshâwar is first mentioned by Fâ-Hian, in A.D. 400, under the name of *Fo-leu-sha*. It is next noticed by Sung-Yun in A.D. 502, at which time the King of Gândhâra was at war with the King of Kipin, or Kophene, that is Kabul and Ghazni, and the surrounding districts. Sung Yun does not name the city, but he calls it the capital and his description of its great *stupa* of King *Kia-ni-sse-kia* or Kanishka, is quite sufficient to establish its identity."—*Ibid*.

|| Published in Russia 1857; date of Schiefner's German translation, 1860

human masters, who were endowed with miraculous powers, produced astonishing works of art. It is expressly stated in the *Vinaya-āgama* and other works that the wall-paintings, &c., of those masters were such as to deceive by their likeness to the actual things depicted.* * In the time of King Buddhapaksha, the sculpture and painting of the artist Bimbāsāra were specially wonderful, and resembled those early works of the gods; the number of his followers was exceedingly great, and as he was born in Magadha, the artists of his school were styled Madhyadesha artists. In the time of King Shila lived an especially skilful delineator of the gods, born in Mārṇwār, named Sringadhara; he left behind him painting and other masterpieces like those produced by the Yakshas. Those who followed his lead were called the Old Western school. In the time of King Devapāla and Shrimant Dharmapāla, lived in Varendra (Northern Bengal) an especially skilful artist named Dhēman; whose son was Bitpālo; both of these produced many works in cast metal, as well as sculptures and paintings which resembled the works of the Nāgas. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools; as the son lived in Bengal the cast images of gods produced by their followers were called gods of the Eastern style, whatever might be the birth-place of their actual designers. In painting, the followers of the father were called the Eastern school; those of the son, as they were most numerous in Magadha, were called followers of the Madhyadesha school of painting. So in Nepal, the earlier schools of art resembled the Old West school; but in course of time a peculiar Nepālese school formed itself, which in painting and casting resembled rather the Eastern types; the latest artists have no special character. In Kashmir, too, there were in former times followers of the Old Western school of Madhyadesha; later on, a certain Hasurāja founded a new school of painting and sculpture, which is now called the Kashmir school."*

The accounts of the manner of origin of the production of likenesses at the close of Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism* expressly point to the time of Asoka and Nāgārjuna, as the most flourishing epoch of the Yaksha and Nāga artists.

When the Arab Muhammed Kasim was conquering Sindh (713 A. D.) a deputation of Hindus came to ask if they might take portraits of him, and of some of his officers, which shows that there were artists then in practice in India.†

* Translated by W. L. Heeley—*Indian Antiquary*, vol. iv.

† Reinaud—*Fragments, Arab and Persian*.

PRINTING IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE—PAURANIC PERIOD AND AFTER.

We have already referred to the fact that Kātyāna enjoins that worship should be paid to the likeness of gods painted on white canvas.

The *Mṛichchhakatī* is ascribed to King Sudraka, and the time of its composition is not known. Professor Weber is of opinion that it must be referred to the brilliant literary period which produced Bhavabhūti and his contemporaries. But internal evidence leads us to think that the current tradition which places the date of the drama anterior to the date of Kālidāsa is not without foundation. In the drama we read of portrait painting. In the fourth act the heroine asks—

“But Madanikā, is this a good likeness of Chārudatta?”*

Next we come to Kālidāsa, whom the poet, the critic, the natural philosopher,—a Goethe, a Schlegel, a Humboldt, have agreed, on account of his tenderness of feeling and his rich creative imagination, to set very high among the glorious company of the Sons of Song.†

Lassen was of opinion that Kālidāsa flourished about the middle of the third century A.D. But later researches fix his time in the sixth century.

In Kālidāsa's works we have numerous references to painting. We give below a few instances.—

In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* we are told,—“The Rājā has seen the picture of Mālavikā, painted by order of the Queen for her *chitra-sālā* or picture gallery, notwithstanding her anxiety to keep the original from Agnimitra's knowledge. The sight of the picture has, of course, inspired the prince with an ardent desire to view the original, whom he has never yet beheld.‡

In the *Sakuntalā* one of the brightest—if not the brightest jewel in the poet's crown, we read of an excellent portrait of the lost Sakuntalā. Her position in the picture is described thus,—“Leaning, apparently a little tired, against the stem

* Wilson—*Theatre of the Hindus*.

† Goethe says—

“Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the
fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured,
feasted, fed?
Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one
sole name combine?
I name thee, O Sakuntalā! and all at once is said.”
E. B. Eastwick.

See also Schlegel's *Dramatic Literature*, Sec. ii, and Humboldt's *Kosmos*, vol. ii.

‡ Wilson—*Theatre of the Hindus*.

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of that mango-tree, the tender leaves of which glitter with the water she has poured upon them. Her arms are gracefully extended; her face is somewhat flushed with the heat; and a few flowers have escaped from her hair, which has become unfastened, and hangs in loose tresses about her neck.”*

With Māthavya we say, “the attitude of the figures is really charming.” Referring to this portrait Sānumati says,—“A most artistic performance! I admire the king’s skill,”† and could almost believe that Sakuntalā herself was before me.”‡ We are further told that the figures “stand out in such bold relief that the eye is quite deceived.”

Reference to “relief” we have in another place in Kālidāsa’s *Kumārasambhava* (Birth of the War-God)—where in speaking of Umā’s beauty in the prime of youth the poet says,—

“Ne’er had the painter’s skilful hand portrayed
A lovelier picture than that gentle maid;
Ne’er sun-kissed lily more divinely fair
Unclosed her beauty to the morning air.” ‡

In the original the reference is to relief.

From the *Meghaduta* (Cloud-Messenger) we know that pictures were used to adorn rooms. The Yaksha speaks of the city on the high Himālayas where clouds float about—

“There driven by the ever-moving gale,
The clouds, thy brethren, in an endless train
Around each palace of the city sail;
Now easy access to the halls they gain,
And mar the painter’s art with dewy stain.” §

The reference here is to moisture left on the pictures by the cloud driven inside the room by the “ever-moving gale.”

In the *Raghu-Vamśa* we have repeated references to painting. For instance, we read of Rāma, returned from exile, entering the hall in which was kept his father’s likeness.||

Then again we learn that Rāma and Sītā spend their time in happiness in rooms adorned with pictures—the remembrance of hardships undergone in the wilderness during their exile serving (by contrast) to enhance their happiness.¶

We quote below another passage to show that in those days fresco paintings were not uncommon, and even sculptured

* Monier Williams—*Sakuntalā*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Griffiths’s—*Birth of the War-God*.

§ Griffiths—*Meghaduta*.

|| 14th Canto.

¶ 14th Canto. It is not impossible that in this *śloka* is to be found the germ of Bhavabhūti’s conception of the brilliant scene in the *Uttara-Rāma-Charita*—in which Lakshmana shows Sita a series of pictures in which are depicted the chief events in the career of Rāma—and to which we shall presently have occasion to refer.

decorations received the touch of the painter's brush. This is Kālidāsa's description of the deserted city Ajadhya—forsaken by the King.* Cities which are maintained by the public establishments that attend and surround the courts of sovereign princes become deserted when sovereigns change their resting places. To the history of the rise and progress, decline and fall, of how many cities is this the key? Here is an extract from Kālidāsa's description,—

"Till now, as painted by the artist's hand,
The pictured elephants at pasture stand :
Each from his partner seems with love to take
The lotus, gathered by the silver lake :
So true to life, that lions, prowling round,
Spring at their foreheads with a furious bound,
And with their claws the painted temples tear,
As if the driver's steel had marked them there.
In those dear days, with tints of nature warm,
In marble statues lived fair woman's form :
Alas ! those tints are faded now, and dim,
And gathering dust obscures each rounded limb ;
While the cast skins of serpents form a vest
That hides the beauties of each statue's breast."†

These are palpable proofs of the existence of painting in those days.

From Kālidāsa we come to Bhavabhūti—whose date must be fixed not later than the eighth century. The second scene of the first act of the *Uttara-Rāma-Charita* opens with Lakshmana drawing Sita's attention to a series of pictures depicting important events in the earlier part of Rāma's career. Perhaps when Bhavabhūti wrote his *Uttara-Rāma-Charita* he had discarded his earlier production, the *Mahābira-Charita*. And to make his readers acquainted with the chief events in the earlier part of his hero's career he adopted the clever device of introducing this series of pictorial representations of those events. Of this picture (for Lakshmana says, "Behold the picture") Wilson says—"A long scroll in compartments, apparently fixed against a wall. Such pictures being panoramic representations of holy places usually, are still not uncommon, whilst the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*, in illuminated and embellished portable scrolls, are very frequent. It is not uncommon, also in the Western Provinces, to meet with a kind of fresco painting upon the walls of gardens, or enclosures of tanks, representing mythological or historical subjects."‡

In the *Ratnāvatī*, too, we meet with reference to painting. Dr. Hall is of opinion that the *Ratnāvatī* was composed by

* 16th Canto.

† Griffiths—*Idylls from the Sanskrit*.

‡ *Theatre of the Hindus*.

Bana of the court of Siladitya II, called also Sri Harsa Deva—who reigned from 610 to 650 A. D.*

We quote the following from Wilson's rendering of the second act.†

Enter *Sāgarikā* with a picture.‡

• • No one approaches, I will try and finish the likeness I am here attempting to portray*— • •

Enter *Susamgatā*.

* • How! the king's picture! • • • • •

Sus.—It is cleverly done, but there wants a figure to complete it, and I will give the god his bride (takes the paper and draws).

Sag.—(Angrily) Hey, *Susamgatā*! what mean you! you have sketched my likeness.

In the *Nāgānanda* too, we have reference to painting:—

It seems strange that in spite of overwhelming evidence to the contrary Professor Weber has come to the following conclusion,—“Painting, in the first place, appears in a very rudimentary stage. Portrait painting, for which perspective is not required, seems to have succeeded best, as it is frequently alluded to in the dramas.”§ Of course portrait painting is frequently alluded to in the dramas. But could it be otherwise? It is only proper that it should be so in books in which the human element not only predominates, but is the only element which occupies the attention of the author. Still inanimate nature is not neglected in the *Sakuntalā*, where we read of the “garden in the background of the picture.” In *Bhāvabhūti's Uttara-Rama-Charita* every tree, every stream, every spot to which clings some memory of the days spent by Rama and Sita in exile had been so painted, that Sita found no difficulty in recognising them on the canvas. Possessing an intimate knowledge of nature, in all her moods, *Bhāvabhūti* put his knowledge to a distinctive use. His work is about man. And he does not make inanimate nature take the place of his subject. He does not draw the man and then draw the nature around him; but he enters into the man and sees nature through his eyes.

PAINTINGS.

Now we come to the old paintings and traces of paintings we still possess.

It is unfortunate that Moore in his *Hindu Pantheon*|| has not attempted to indicate the dates of the original paintings from which he got the copies he styles “graceful models of outline.”

* Introduction to *Vasavadattā*.

† *Theatre of the Hindus*.

‡ More correctly a leaf or sheet of a picture *chitraphalāha*.

§ *History of Indian Literature*.

|| Published 1810.

In ancient India—where a long-settled civilisation had ultimately produced fixed and slowly evolved beautiful types—a high general level of decorative excellence had obtained. And art in ancient and mediæval India had produced marvellous results in the department of decoration. "Like all people untrammelled by rules and gifted with a feeling for the beautiful, they (the Hindus) adorn whatever they require, and convert every object, however utilitarian in its purpose, into an object of beauty, knowing well that it is not temples and palaces alone that are capable of such display, but that every thing which man makes, may become beautiful, provided the hand of taste be guided by sound judgment and never forgets what the object is."* In India even tools and objects of domestic utility were made beautiful. And painting, like sculpture, was made decorative.

We need not dwell at length on the pictorial decorations in the old palm-leaf manuscripts. Nor need we try to trace the gradual growth of painting from "rude drawings of men and animals"—such as can be found in the Ginja Hill near Allahabad.†

It is in the cave temples of India that we find ancient paintings in a tolerable state of preservation. And we turn our attention to these cave temples. "In Western India the older caves seem, as a rule, to have been decorated with painting, while sculpture was as generally employed in the East."‡

The most interesting, as well as the most beautiful pictures are to be found in the Ajantâ cave temples. But we shall take them up afterwards.

The caves at Bhājā were made after Asoka's time. Fergusson and Burgess assign to them the date—200 B. C., and they say "in doing so we may feel certain we do not err by many years, or in ascribing it to too ancient a date."§ To the Bed-â caves, too, must be assigned a date not later than B. C. 150. At Bhājā and Bedsâ the whole of the *chaitya* caves were coloured.

The caves of Kârtê must be slightly anterior to the Christian era (100 B. C.)||. And at Kârtê remains of painting are found on several of the columns and on the *dâgoba* in the great *chaitya* hall.

The Kânheri caves date from B. C. 100 to A. D. 150. "The *chaitya* cave at Kânheri shows colour on the columns and on the walls of the aisles and the figures have been coated with

* Fergusson—*Handbook of Architecture*.

† Cunningham—*Archæological Survey Report*, vol. xxi.

‡ Fergusson and Burgess—*The Cave-Temples of India*.

§ *The Cave Temples of India*.

|| *Ibid.*

stucco and painted. In the ceilings and pilasters of Cave X at the same place, are remains of grounds prepared to receive colour."*

Next we take up the little known and much neglected caves at Bâgh. "In the south of Malwa, about twenty-five miles south-west of Dhar and thirty miles west of Mându, is the village of Bâgh, three miles to the south of which is a group of *Vihâras*, now much ruined, from the rock in which they are cut being stratified and having given way in many places."† Here we have no inscriptions to help us to know the date. But "from the simplicity of their sculptures we may perhaps be justified in relegating them to about A. D. 450 to 500, and regarding the wall paintings as belonging to the sixth century."‡ Cave No. III is known as the 'painted cave'—"from its having been covered with fresco painting apparently quite as good as any at Ajantâ, but somewhat different in the subjects and arrangements. The roof has been in compartments as at Ajantâ, and about 4 feet of the upper portion of the walls covered with intertwined vegetable patterns, while below were figures and scenes, Buddhist Jâtakas, &c., now very much injured by the fall of much of the roof, as well as from natives having scribbled their names over it, and from decay."§ There is a verandah 220 feet long, and "the back wall of this was adorned with a series of very beautiful frescoes, rivalling in excellence those at Ajantâ. Processions on elephants and horse-back, musical entertainments, and the like, from the principal subjects, and the number of women considerably exceeds that of the men."||

The date of the Elurâ caves must be fixed A. D. 450 to 700 or 750. "In the Baroda grant it is stated that Krishnaraja 'caused to be constructed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain at Elâpura.' When the gods moving in their ærial cars saw it, they were struck with wonder and constantly thought much over the matter saying to themselves, 'this temple of Siva is self-existent; for such beauty is not to be found in a work of art.' Even the architect who constructed it was struck with wonder, saying when his heart misgave him as regards making another similar attempt, 'Wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it.' King Krishna with his own hands again decorated Sambhu (Siva) placed in that temple, by means of gold, rubies and other precious jewels, though he had already been decorated

* Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantâ*.

† Fergusson and Burgess—*The Cave-Temples of India*.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Fergusson and Burgess—*The Cave Temples of India*.

|| *Ibid.*

by the wonderful artificial ornaments of the stream of the Ganga, the moon, and the deadly poison.' The ending *pura* in the names of towns, when it undergoes a change at all, is invariably changed to *ur*, as in Sihur for Simhapura, Indur for Indrapura, Sirur for Sirahpura or Sripura, &c. The Elā-pura of the inscription, therefore, is Elur, and the temple described in the grant in such terms must be one of those excavated on the hills at the place, perhaps the temple of Kailāsa itself. Thus it appears that it was Krishnarāja that caused the Kailāsa to be constructed, and the date assigned to it by Drs. Fergusson and Burgess simply on architectural grounds is verified. Krishnarāja must have reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Saka era, *i.e.*, between 753 and 775 A. D.* The important series of caves at Eura were nearly all coloured. The cave known as Kailāsa or Rangmahal is one of the most remarkable of all the cave temples in India. Portions of the temple in the centre have at some period been most elaborately painted, and even now there are some fragments which still retain much of their original beauty.

The caves at Pitalkhora were painted.

The latest limit of the series of caves at Aurangābād must be fixed "as about coeval with or slightly subsequent to the latest at Ajantā—say towards the middle or end of the seventh century A. D."† The most important cave from our point of view is cave No. VI. "There are traces of painting left on the roof of the front aisle of this cave in the same style as is used in the roofs of the verandahs at Ajantā, and probably of about the same age."‡

Now we come to the Ajantā paintings, and we hope to be pardoned if we dwell at some length on the uncommon beauty and grace of the Ajantā pictures. These pictures afford an opportunity "not only of judging of the degree of excellence to which the Indians reached in this branch of the fine arts, but present a most vivid picture of the feelings and aspirations of the Buddhists during their period of greatest extension in India than we can obtain from any other source."§ "From the fragments that remain there is very little doubt that all the Buddhist caves were originally adorned with paintings, but in nine cases out of ten these have perished, either from the effects of the atmosphere, which in that climate is most destructive, or from wanton damage

* Bhandarkar—*Early History of the Dekkan*.

† Fergusson and Burgess—*The Cave Temples of India*.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

done by ignorant men."* The earlier pictures must be assigned to a date not later than the second century A. D.—the time of the Andhrabhritya kings, the greatest patrons of Buddhism in the first three centuries of the Christian era. And in the Ajantâ pictures is to be found "a freshness of colour, which is wonderful, considering their exposure to the vicissitudes of an Indian climate for from fifteen to eighteen centuries.

What "enormous labour, skill, perseverance and endurance"—unlike the gentle and tranquil indolence generally associated with Buddhism must have gone to the excavation! What surprising boldness of conception and hardy defiance of difficulty do we perceive in these works of the old Buddhist artists, who thoroughly understood the principles of decorative art in its highest and noblest sense!

Walls and ceilings are all covered with paintings of figure subjects and ornaments full of invention and fantasy. They must have used artificial lights in the caves—very trying in Indian climate.

In the pictures we find—"the dominant figure of Buddha has already assumed some of the conventional fixity with which the art of the further East has made us familiar; but though frequently shown as an enthroned object of worship, there are many scenes in which the teacher still lives and moves—a man among men. The crowds that attend or adore are full of life and variety; there is no ascetic abatement of the splendours of Royal State, no softening of the pride and pomp of war and the chase; while the every-day life of the people—buying and selling, cooking, feasting, drinking, love-making, singing and dancing—is fully displayed."† The endeavour of the artist was to show the eager service and interest of his fellow-men. "No matter how crowded a composition may be, each individual has something to do, and does it earnestly."‡ The faculty of truthfully representing easy actions of ordinary life is specially noticeable. The dresses are very various, and indicate the classes represented. "In no detail is the intention of indicating diverse races and castes more clearly shown than in the rendering of costume."§ Dresses and ornaments are most skilfully painted. The figures are natural and elegant; the pleasant and expressive human faces express the feelings they are meant to convey; the female figures are elegant and graceful.

The dominant figure of Buddha is seen in various attitudes.

* Fergusson and Burgess—*The Cave Temples of India*.

† Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantâ*.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

"The hands bless, or teach, or lie on the lap with up-turned palms." The close-cropped or clean-shaven hair and drooping eyelids of the Bhikshu are unmistakeable." Soldiers and huntsmen have short and coarse features, with none of the refinement of the elongated faces of princes and nobles."* The fine cloth of the Rânis is indicated by a few very light touches of whitish colour across the thighs, and by the flowered border as well as the chain by which the cloth was held up round the waist, †

Of course, as in other early works, much of the later science of art must be sought in vain. There is the early lack of aerial perspective. But says a competent critic—"In spite of its obvious limitations, I find the work so accomplished in execution, so consistent in convention, so vivacious and varied in design, and full of such evident delight in beautiful form and colour, that I cannot help ranking it with some of that early art which the world has agreed to praise in Italy." ‡

The opinion of Dr. Fergusson we quote with pleasure, 'The style of the paintings cannot, of course, bear comparison with European paintings of the present day; but they are certainly superior to the style of Europe during the age in which they were executed; the perspective, grouping and details are better, and the story better told than in any painting anterior to Orcagna§ and Fiesole' ||

"At the Sanchi Tope geese are carved among the lotus flowers, and the same motive is repeated in colour at Ajantâ with surpassing grace and freedom." ¶

Reference has already been made to the assertion of Professor Weber that "portrait painting, for which perspective is not required, seems to have succeeded best, as it is frequently alluded to in the dramas." But the scenes painted here prove that the Professor worked with insufficient—if not inaccurate—materials.

Here we find painted ships and boats. A sea-going vessel with high stem and stern, and three masts, each surmounted by a truck, and carrying a lug sail is very skilfully and faithfully painted.

* Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantâ.*

† The same is found in sculpture too—"It is quite a mistake to suppose that nudity is the rule among the female figures at Sanchi. Some who appear, on a cursory glance, to be totally nude only, appear so because the sculptor, like the early Greek artists, represented their drapery, over the lower limbs, by simple lines"—General F. C. Maisey.—*Sanchi and its Remains.*

‡ Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantâ.*

§ 14th Century.

|| 1387 to 1455 A. D.

¶ Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantâ.*

"The treatment of landscape by the early Italian masters has much in common with the Ajantâ work." * Plants have not been neglected. "Artists will be interested in work which, while decorative in feeling, faithfully preserves essential characteristics of the plant life here shown." † The banana naturally is a favourite subject. We find a fully expanded leaf tattered and rent by the wind, and the half-opened leaf sheath with its vigorous upward growth. ‡ "The graceful *ashoka* or *devadâru* with its rounded flower head and drooping foliage, the *palâsa*, the banian, and the *pipâl*—the most familiar and beautiful of Indian trees—are drawn with the appreciation of their growth and habit that might be expected from men who regarded them as sacred. In ornament the lotus—blue, white and pink, the mango, custard apple, pomegranate, gourd and other fruits and flowers, furnish themes for decorative fantasies which always fill their appointed spaces effectively." §

And how many centuries must have passed before the art could reach this high pitch of excellence—the hand of the artist could be thus trained by steady practice till it rejoiced in its own power? Then how old in painting in India? We can but guess.

THE STYLE—INDIGENOUS, NOT BORROWED.

We wonder how Mr. Griffiths arrived at the following conclusion:—"The elements of design (at Ajantâ) are spontaneously developed everywhere, but it is by more than elementary forms and lines that sources of inspiration so diverse as Greece, Persia and China are here indicated. * * *

• It is plain that then, as now, Indian work was largely influenced by foreign ideas." || And he has gone all the way to Persia in a fruitless search after the source of inspiration. "The works of Mâni, a famous Persian painter, who lived (240 A.D.) chiefly in Turkestan, may have exerted some influence on Indian artists. He exhibited a set of pictures called *artang* or *archang* Mâni, which he painted in a cave, and said he had brought from heaven." ¶

But in these matters slight similarities must not be accepted as conclusive proof. Paintings on stucco bear certain resemblances to each other all over the world. Mr. Griffiths himself admits that "Egyptian tombs, Etruscan frescoes, and painted stuccoes of Herculaneum and Pompeii, furnish ex-

* Griffiths—*The Painting in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantâ.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

¶ *Ibid.*

amples almost identical with those of Ajantâ in technical details." * A fragment of a fresco painted by Ambrogio Lorenzatti (fourteenth century) of heads of nuns, in the National Gallery is singularly like the Ajantâ work in colour, execution and treatment. In the absence of ample and strong evidence, external or internal, we should be chary of conclusions which try to start new theories.

The influence of Persia and Greece we need not discuss at length. We can find no trace of influence from Persia; and Fergusson—a great authority—has said, that the style is not European. We do not deny that intercourse with other nations must have left their marks on Indian Art. But we are certain that the source of inspiration, as well as the whole process of elaboration and execution must be admitted to be characteristically Indian and neither Greek nor Persian.

We now proceed to consider the assertion about the influence of China on the pictorial art of ancient and mediæval India.

There is a Chinese turn in the Ajantâ paintings—in the suppleness of the figures, the drawing of the human eye and sometimes of the whole figures as well as in many ornamental details. There we find the flatness and want of shadow we are accustomed to associate with Chinese pictorial art. Fergusson has admitted that the style of the Ajantâ paintings is not European, but more resembles Chinese art. But he has added, "I never, however, in China saw anything approaching its perfection."

* Buddhist pictures of Tibet, Nepal, China, Japan, Burma and Java present a marvellous unity of style, and all bear a striking resemblance to the Ajantâ work. It is, we think, but natural. And we wonder how, commenting on this fact, Mr. Griffiths has declared—"looked at more closely, however, it is soon apparent that the latter (the Ajantâ work) is younger, nearer to the original source of inspiration, and that there is a delight in nature for its own sake, and a free-handed revelry in the opportunities afforded to the artist, of painting the manifold life he saw and knew."† We do not know how to reconcile these assertions. One would rather suppose that the art of the country nearer to the original source of inspiration should be older than the art of the countries more remote, that, surely, is more natural. And we do not see why we should suppose that there has been a breach of the rule in this case. Then the "delight in nature for its own sake" and the "free-handed revelry in the opportunities afforded to the artist, of painting the manifold life he saw and knew"—which Mr. Griffiths has noticed in the Ajantâ work could

* Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantâ*.

† *Ibid*.

only be possible before the antique style of composition had become fixed by rigid adherence to a canon. And they betray the fact that these paintings—the strange work of a long-dead people—belong to a very remote age.

It is strange that a very simple thing did not strike the learned writer, even when he himself said:—“It is clear that wherever Buddhism prevailed the art of painting flourished, and early records and traditions show that it was systematically studied and practised.”* Was not India the home of Buddhism? And is it hard to conjecture that the art had its origin in India? Fā-Hian has said that he remained at Tamralipti for two years *drawing image pictures*. And we are of opinion that when India gave to China her cult and her culture, Buddhist monks and Chinese pilgrims took the pictorial art of India to China. Then in India came the religious revolution which restored the power of Hinduism. Buddhist monks fled to Tibet and China. From China the religion and the art went to Japan,—chiefly through Korea. This is the explanation of the existence, at the present day in some of the oldest temples of Japan, of paintings, treasured as the most precious relics and rarely shown to Europeans, which closely resemble the Buddhist art of India. So the school of Ajantā carried its traditions into the congenial atmosphere of the Far East among a people whose artistic sympathies were entirely in the same direction.†

The art of India thrived in the Far East. And in India itself when the time for revival came with the advent of a luxurious court the Moghuls brought with them their own art. The axe of the conqueror was applied to the tree which had borne brilliant flowers; and it was simply lopped in order to receive on its crown a cluster of foreign branches. At last the wound closed, the saps mingled; and in India arose a new and characteristically Indian school of pictorial art in which were mingled the traditions of the Persian school, and the traditions of the old Indian school. This is known as the Moghul school of art in India. And there is nothing to be surprised at in the fact that in making copies from the Ajantā pictures it was found that Hindu, Parsi and even Goanese, students of art can still easily do the work which was done centuries before, while English artists find considerable difficulty in doing it. It is only another example of the Law of Heredity.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

† Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantā*.

‡ See the *Studio*—October 1902—*Some Notes on Indian Pictorial Art* by Mr. E. B. Havell of the Calcutta Art School; and Wm. Anderson's *Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*.

ART II.—THE LAND OF THE NAYAKARS.

• THE NAYAKAR KINGDOMS.

THE seventeenth century was peculiarly the century of the Nayakars. It was then they attained their precarious independence and greatest glory.

The great Nayakars of Madura, Tanjore, and Ginji were tributary to the Emperor of Vijayanagar, to whom they were supposed to pay each an annual tribute of from six to ten millions of francs, say forty lakhs. They were not exact in paying, and the Emperor would send soldiers by the hundred thousand to enforce arrears with interest. This frequently happened, and the poor people suffered. Madura and the other cities passed through many vicissitudes, and their population varied greatly at different times.

TRIBUTARY LORDS.

The great Nayakar of Madura had only a little territory of his own. The rest was parcelled out to seventy-two Palayagaras, or tributary lords. These had each his own territory, and within it the full administration of police and justice. They raised contributions of, at least, half the produce of the ground; this they divided into three parts; the first belonged to the great Nayakar, the second was devoted to the expense of troops that had to be furnished to the Nayakar in case of war, and the third was their own.

ERUMEIKATTI.

The greatest chieftain of Madura was nicknamed "Erumeikatti." He was brother of a powerful lord and relative of the king, owned the Brahman quarters in the city, and was bound to support for the service of the Nayakar 3,000 infantry, 200 horse, and 50 elephants.

SCHOOLS OF LEARNING.

In 1609 there were more than ten thousand Brahmin students in Madura, distributed in classes of two hundred to three hundred each. The other castes, especially Vaisyas and Sudras, were excluded. The Emperor of Vijayanagar and the King of Madura had endowed the schools sufficiently for the pay of the masters and support of the students. The first course was Logic, requiring four or five years of study. Besides Theology, or Vedantism, there were five other courses.

STRUGGLES WITH VIJAYANAGAR.

A contemporary view of the political state of South India

is given us in the letters of Father Proenza, a Priest residing in Trichinopoly and writing in 1659 to his Superior in Cochín.

From Comorin all east of the Ghats had submitted to the three Nayakars. North of these were two kingdoms, formerly very powerful, but now dependents of the Great Mogul at Delhi, *vis.*, Golconda to the east and Bijapur to the west. Narasingam of Vijayanagar had been driven southward, and had fixed his seat at Vellore.

The Madura Nayakars had long paid tribute, but Tirumala, following his father's example, determined to free himself. Too feeble to resist openly, he, for several years, sent presents without tribute. Old Narasingam dissembled to avoid war; but on the accession of a new Narasingam he sent an army to collect his dues.

Madura formed a league with Tanjore and Ginji, but Tanjore betrayed his allies and yielded. Then, while Vijayanagar was marching on Ginji, Tirumala begged Golconda, a Mussulman King, to invade Vellore. He agreed, and devastated Vellore, but Narasingam turned back and repulsed Golconda. Golconda, however, did not lose heart, and afterwards gained the victory over Vijayanagar, and occupied Vellore.

Vijayanagar now joins with his former enemies in a league against Golconda, and takes refuge among the three Nayakar, leaving the Musalman in Vellore. Jealousies arose, and Vijayanagar was obliged to establish his court in the forests north of Tanjore. For four months he suffered such privations that his courtiers all left him. Finally he appealed to Mysore, who promised to support him, and gave him a hospitable refuge.

MUSALMAN ALLIES.

When Mogul cavalry passed near Tanjore the inhabitants crowded each other in the streets with crazy fury, no one knowing what was the matter. Cannon were fired into the air, and men were crushed under horses and elephants. The Nayakar was the most frightened of all, and kept hid to in different places all night. Golconda was advancing on Ginjee. Tanjore was frightened. He had failed Madura, and now could not rely on Madura to help him; so he delivered himself to Golconda.

Tirumala's next move was to send ambassadors to Adal Khan, King of the Deccan, in Bijapur. He sent 17,000 horse, 30,000 troops were added by Tirumala, and the united force advanced toward Ginji. The Musalman of the armies of Golconda and Bijapur united with each other; Golconda withdrew to Vellore and left the 17,000 Deccanese to continue the siege; and Tirumala's 30,000 went in to Ginji to defend

it. These last had good fortifications, powerful artillery, plenty of provisions, and the advantage of numbers under protection. Yet when a revolt was started inside, the doors were opened, and the Musalmans entered and took the fortress with immense spoil. Forthwith they marched against Tanjore and Madura. The Tanjore Nayakar concealed himself in the forests, the Madura man in his fort ; but both submitted, and the conquest of the Musalmans was complete without a blow.

These two Nayakars thought only of oppressing their own subjects. Their pride consoled itself for repeated humiliations by making heavy the yoke of despotism. Their spoiliations made the people long for the Moguls.

Narasisingam was wiser. With the support of an army of Mysoreans he repulsed Golconda, and reconquered a part of his kingdom. It was Tirumala's opportunity ; but, instead of helping Narasingam, he opened anew to the Musalmans the passage of the Ghats, and pushed them to war with Mysore. Vijayanagar had to seek an asylum in the woods in the corner of his kingdom, and was again deserted.

STRUGGLES WITH MYSORE.

The Treasurer of Adal Khan took enormous contributions from Madura and Tanjore, and returned. Mysore proceeded to call Tirumala to account for his disloyalty ; and sent an army for vengeance, and to collect the expenses of the war. Sattiamangalam was the first point of attack, and there the Commander of the army found no resistance and plenty of treasure. He then advanced to the walls of Madura contrary to orders.

THE MARAVAR.

Tirumala was about to fly to the woods alone, when the Maravar came to his rescue. When their king heard of the danger, he assembled in one day 25,000 men and placed himself between Madura and the enemy. This braced up the Nayakar and he raised 35,000 for his defence. Mysore, however, won the Brahman Commander of the Nayakar's forces by presents, and the traitor tried to delay the attack. This aroused the suspicions of the Maravar, who thereupon imprisoned the Brahman, and cut in pieces the enemy. The remnants of the Mysore army took refuge in a neighbouring fortress until reinforced by 20,000 more men, when they returned to the attack. The combat raged with fury all one day, and each army left more than 12,000 dead on the field of battle.

THE CHASE OF THE NOSES.

The advantage was with the Nayakar, and he carried the war into Mysore. The Mysoreans had been cutting off noses and sending them by sackfuls back to Mysore. So now the troops of the Nayakar scattered through Mysore for noses to cut off, in retaliation. They succeeded even to the extent of cutting off the nose of the king himself. This war was called the Chase after Noses.

TIRUMALA NAYAKAR.

Tirumala died at the age of seventy-five, having reigned thirty years. He had grand qualities tarnished by vices and follies. He built the Pagodas of Madura, many public edifices, and especially the Royal Palace, whose colossal proportions and astonishing boldness recalled the glories of ancient Thebes. He loved and protected the Christian religion, whose excellence he recognized. He had 200 wives. The most distinguished of his wives were burned on his funeral pyre.

THE KING OF TANJORE.

Mutavirappa Nayakar followed Tirumala Nayakar, and tried to shake off the Musalmans and otherwise recover from the consequences of Tirumala's faults. Trichinopoly was the key of the position with reference to the states to the north; so he garrisoned its fortress with soldiers and munitions of war; and thus, having prepared for vigorous resistance, he refused the annual tribute. Tanjore immediately sent ambassadors to Adal Khan of Bijapur. Suddenly a Musalman army crossed the northern mountains and appeared before Trichinopoly, thus announcing their design of conquering the whole country. Without waiting to reduce that fortress, they turned eastward and fell on Tanjore, March 19, 1659.

Tanjore stood in the midst of a fertile plain, possessed powerful artillery, had plenty of troops, was provisioned for several years, was equal to the strongest citadels of Europe, and could laugh at besiegers who had not a single cannon. The Commandant of the fortress, a son-in-law of the Nayakar, showed himself on the rampart with immense pride; but an arrow hit him, causing all his bravery to disappear, and he shamefully delivered up the city. Only the young Rajas protested. Disdaining bow and gun, as the weapons of cowards, they took sword and lance, and with the motto, "never fall back, conquer or die," they fell upon the enemy and found a glorious death. Amid so many instances of base cowardice it is quite refreshing to come upon this act of daring.

With Tanjore in their power the Musalmans marched to Mannarkoil, 51 miles east of Tanjore, from whose god Mannar

the Nayakar claimed descent. This, the second city of Tanjore, shared the fate of the capital.

The third city of the kingdom was Vallankottei, nine miles south-west of Tanjore. It was situated on a steep rock, with carved ramparts, and should be impregnable. Here the Nayakar placed his treasures and women, but when peril approached he sacrificed everything and fled to the forests of his vassal Talavarayan. Adal Khan's army had not even to attack this third city. By night the people all fled to the forest. A few opened the coffers of the Nayakar and took treasures out of them. Robbers fell upon them and took away what they had taken, then rushed to the fortress and helped themselves to all the riches therein, the path of their flight was marked by precious stones dropped along the way. But the Musalmans did not get them, and they were distributed among the people. Afterward, when the Nayakar returned and was in great distress, the people restored to him some of his treasures, claiming that they had been keeping them for him.

Many prisoners were liberated, among them two brothers of the Nayakar with their eyes put out. The army spread themselves throughout the country for several months. Robbers frequently attacked them, and they in turn would pursue the robbers into the woods, desolate their abodes, and take their children into slavery.

The Tanjore Nayakar used to spend the month of December in the midst of his idols. Two hours before daybreak he would go to Mannar sanctuary, staying five hours at a time to pour upon the head of the god a rain of flowers. Cultivators had orders to bring him flowers from hour to hour. He would live as a Sannyasi, cooking for himself in vessels of gold and silver. In procession the King's Guru would be carried in a palanquin by the ladies of the Court. Another palanquin had the slippers of the Guru, and the Nayakar on foot preceded the slippers with the censer. When the Guru was dying the king visited and promised him a magnificent funeral. The Guru was offended, but the death occurred, and also the magnificent funeral.

Once the king made a pilgrimage to a place called "Ramanancor," described as an island between Coromandel and the Straits of Mannar. Surely this is no other than Ramesaram? There was a celebrated tank there where the goddess Perumal bathed, which gave the water the quality of washing out all sins. The Nayakar and all his nobles shaved from head to foot. Himself and his Queen were weighed in the scales before the idol, and he offered an equal weight of gold. On his return to his capital the god Mannar was said to be jealous of

the king's generosity to Perumal, and to utter loud cries. He appeased it with 20,000 crowns of gold.

WAR AND FAMINE.

In 1660 the Portuguese were being attacked and driven out of their territories by both the French and the Dutch. Golconda was an ally of the Portuguese. For two years the Musalmans under the generals of Adal Khan occupied the kingdoms of Ginji and Tanjore. The people found them less cruel and more just than their own sovereigns. Famine followed hard after war, and the inhabitants retired to Madura and Sattiamangalam. The Musalmans were the first to suffer. There were dissensions among their own generals. One Moula called on the Nayakars to pay three years' tribute. Tanjore had nothing to give or lose, and stayed in the woods. Madura defended himself in Trichinopoly. Despairing of taking the fort, Moula ravaged the country, and was frequently himself ravaged by robbers at night. Finally he accepted a small sum from the Nayakar and retired to the mountains.

TREACHEROUS OFFICERS.

Meantime Muttuvirappa Nayakar had given himself up to luxury, and had lost, first his energy and health, and then life. He was succeeded by Sokalinga Nayakar, who was only sixteen years old. He moved his court from Madura to Trichinopoly.

The young king conceived the daring project of driving out the Moguls from all the kingdoms invaded, restoring Ginji to its Nayakar, and re-establishing Vijayanagar. His prime minister was a Brahman, and his secretary an aged confidante of his father. These two took all authority, and removed from the king all lords and captains that could overshadow them. Captain Lingama was sent to take possession of Ginji, but he took bribes from the Musalman and wasted the money in a long campaign. The Nayakar was practically a prisoner at Trichinopoly, with no means of communicating with his subjects. The two ministers conspired with Lingama to depose the Nayakar in favor of his younger brother. A lady of the court overheard their plans and informed the Nayakar. He proved equal to the occasion, and sent word to two captains who had been exiled because of their devotion to him. They came with soldiers, and cut the secretary to pieces. The other minister being a Brahman, they did not dare to kill him, but put out his eyes.

Thus delivered, the Nayakar brought back the exiled courtiers, and dissimulated with Lingama. Lingama afterwards joined Sagasi of Ginji, who had bribed him before, and

the two returned to attack Trichinopoly with 12,000 foot and 7,000 horse. The Sokalinga had 50,000 men, but the new Brahman minister was treacherous. He made the best captains fall into traps, by which they were killed or captured, and then tried to capture the king with a part of the troops. The king again proved himself equal to an emergency. Taking command of the other part of the army, he overcame the Brahman, and swore he would never trust Brahmans again. Lingama and Sagasi took refuge in Tanjore.

Sokalinga Nayakar inspired respect and fear. He attracted soldiers to his army from the enemy. When he marched against Tanjore he had 70,000 troops. Lingama and Sagasi fled to Ginji, and the Nayakar of Tanjore submitted to him.

A FAMOUS ROBBER.

Robbers infested all the region about Tanjore. Twelve miles from Tanjore was a famous robber named Meicondone (Veigundan?), who repulsed the cavalry of Adal Khan, and was called King of the Forests. Small wars were waged against him, but he was always victorious. He knew the Christian missionaries, and before going into battle would kneel and call on Jesus. Other chiefs united against him, and traitors delivered his place to them, but Veigundan, followed by his brother and son and a few others, forced a passage and fled to a refuge. The victors burned his town, and went to his palace to burn that with their own hands, when a magazine of powder underneath exploded and blew up forty of them,—the soldiers fled in a panic.

DESOLATION.

Sokalinga had gone from Tanjore to Madura. It was a time of distress when millions are said to have perished from famine and misery. On the king's return to Trichinopoly he gave a banquet to the poor on the banks of the Kavari. There were long rows of plantain leaves with piles of rice distributed by troops of people. At the beginning of the feast the king arrived on horseback and passed between the rows. He became famous for his justice and good administration.

In addition to other troubles, locusts destroyed the crops of the country. Madura was so deserted that wolves, bears and tigers increased, even coming into the city and wandering through private compounds. Clouds of insects of bad odour and painful bite infected the whole country.

In 1665 the Musalmans again attacked Trichinopoly under the command of Adal Khan's most valiant captain. Several assaults were repulsed by Sokalinga with warlike valor. The besiegers were more successful in devastating the country and sent terror into all hearts. They destroyed harvests, burned

villages, and enslaved the people. Nobles immolated their wives and children, then pierced themselves with their own swords. Whole villages burned themselves in their houses. One man is said to have come out alive from under a pile of four hundred corpses. The Musalmans, being satisfied, negotiated with the Nayakar, and left on receipt of a large sum of money.

SOKALINGA'S REVENGE.

Sokalinga Nayakar, being freed, took revenge on Tanjore for having united with the Moguls. He captured the important fortress of Vallam with its rich territory, and made peace on his own terms.

Turning from Tanjore he took further revenge on the King of Marava, because he had refused to help him against the Musalmans. He first captured Tirupatur, Pudukottei, and Munamadura, and then penetrated the forests and seized the fort of Kaliarkoil. The King of Marava retired into the depths of his forests.

A SILLY KING.

The Tanjore Nayakar, having betrayed Madura and suffered for it, was told by his Brahman advisers that he had better be reborn. So a colossal cow in bronze was cast in a mould and the king was shut up inside. The wife of the king's Brahman Guru acted as nurse, received him in her arms, rocked him on her knees, and caressed him on her breast, and he tried to cry like a baby. The neighbours laughed greatly at this, but the ceremony brought the Brahmans immense sums.

FAMOUS BRIGANDS.

Thirty miles north of Trichinopoly lived a famous Pareia brigand, who was dreaded by all on account of his ferocity. At the age of ninety he turned to the fanatical worship of various gods. He walked three days to Trichinopoly and wandered all day searching for the Christian Pandaram. At night he fell into the moat of the citadel. A Christian catechist found him and the next morning baptized him, and at noon he expired.

The professional robbers were feared by the Musalmans more than the armies of the Nayakars. They would come out of the woods in little bands, spread themselves through the country, attack the Musalmans, and suddenly disperse to meet in the woods at a whistle. Almost any one of them could run like lightning, jump on a horse and carry it off without any bridle, and dash through any band of men.

SOKALINGA'S CONTEMPORARIES.

In the history of the Naidu community published by Nara.

simalu Naidugar in 1896 Sokalinga Naidu is said to have come to the throne in 1670. But that is certainly an error, for in 1666 he had not only reigned for several years, but had done his best work and become enervated by his passions. His contemporary in Tanjore was Vijaya Nayakar. At this time Ginji was ruled by three captains of Adal Khan.

CRUEL MINISTERS.

The Pradani (prime minister) of Tanjore allowed a Brahman to despoil all the vassals of the king, and he did it cruelly. He mulcted both labourers and merchants to such an extent that they fled and the city became a desert. The king intended to secure the plunder for himself, but the Pradani was too far-sighted for him; so at last the king gave up the Pradani to the fury of the people. The Pradani of Madura did the same thing; but his king fined him three lakhs of crowns, and he made the people pay it in addition to all his booty.

MADURA PALACE.

Sokalinga started out as one of the bravest of the Nayak dynasty, but he too lost his energy in self-indulgence, and his renown in the folly of ruining the Madura Palace, described as "the most majestic monument that existed in these countries," and transporting its splendid columns of black granite for the erection of a sumptuous castle at Trichinopoly that could not compare with the one he ruined. At the entreaty of his courtiers he left a little of it standing, but its glory had departed, and never reappeared either in Madura or Trichinopoly.

GENERAL DISTURBANCE.

No letters from the Jesuits are extant between 1667 and 1676, because they were all lost in the wars between the Portuguese and Dutch.

In 1676 the Madura Nayakar, after many disastrous wars, captured Tanjore, beheaded the king, and gave the throne to an elder brother. But Adal Khan sent Ecogi with an army to establish the son of the slain king. Ecogi was checked and waited on the frontier for a whole year, until quarrels enabled him to carry out his purpose. Ecogi then attacked Trichinopoly, but the Nayakar successfully resisted him, Ecogi, however occupied all the fortresses of the Nayakar. The latter was a tyrant worse than all his predecessors. Meantime famine had ravaged Madura and Marava, and everywhere there were devastation and solitude.

These were times of general disturbance. In Ginji a Brahman, brother of the Governor, plotted against Adal Khan, but was killed himself. A general sent to depose the Governor

was repulsed, and devastation followed. Ecoji on one side, and Mysore on the other, gathered the debris of the Madura kingdom. At Tanjore, Ecoji, contrary to the orders of Adal Khan, assumed the throne of Tanjore, and won the good-will of the people. Adal Khan sent an army to punish Ecoji, the Nayakar approached to capture Tanjore. "Mysore, on the other hand, fortified the places taken from Madura. War brigandage more than the wars between Madura and Mysore, depopulated the country by driving the inhabitants to flight.

THREE MAHRATTA BROTHERS. 1520.

By 1678 the three Mahratta brothers, Sivaji, Ecoji, and Santoji, have become the prominent actors in the land of the Nayakar. While Sokalinga Nayakar was preparing war against Ecoji, now master of Tanjore and Ginji, rumour indicated that Sivaji had seized several provinces of Vijayanagar and was advancing with a powerful army. He fell like lightning on Ginji and easily captured it. Ecoji, pretending to respect his brother, advanced to meet Sivaji and found him on the other side of the Coleroon, nine miles from Tanjore. Sivaji seized him and loaded him with chains to force him to deliver up all the treasures of Tanjore. Ecoji escaped, swimming across the river and hiding in the woods. Sivaji took all the provinces north of the Coleroon, left the greater part of his army to Santoji and a Brahman counsellor, and flew to the north to help his son against the great Mogul.

Ecoji took advantage of Sivaji's absence to attack Ginji and give battle to Santoji. Ecoji's troops fought like lions and Santoji fled, but ambuscaded the victorious army and won the final victory, though suffering the greater loss. Sokalinga thought his time had come to regain Tanjore, but Ecoji re-entered the city, and the Nayakar first hesitated, then offered money to Santoji to help him. Ecoji could beat him at this game, and outbid him and kept his place. So the Nayakar had nothing to do but return to Trichinopoly. Santoji went to assist Sivaji at the siege of Vellore. After a year's siege it was captured and Sivaji became sovereign of a great part of the old kingdom of Vijayanagar. He fortified Ginji and other principal places with great art, destroyed useless fortresses and prepared himself to sustain a siege of several years, and then plundered the people for the expenses. The people sighed for the Moguls.

Ecoji was driven to oppress the people in order to furnish the immense sums he had promised. There were abundant harvests, but the Maravar plundered right and left. All Tanjore provinces were desolated for twenty years by the Sivaji-Ecoji wars.

DEPOSITION OF SOKALINGA.

Sokalinga not only failed to get Tanjore, but lost his own states to Mysore, who captured the only two fortresses he had in the north. The lords of Madura imprisoned Sokalinga under the pretext of insanity and placed on his throne his brother Muttulinga Virappa Narakar. He was neither wiser, nor less tyrannical than his predecessor.

A DEN OF BRIGANDS.

Sattiamangalam, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and Ginji were desolated by a deluge, followed by famine, pestilence, and brigandage. Madura was no longer recognizable, its palaces so rich and majestic were deserted and falling in ruins. It was less a city than a den of brigands. The new King was a worthless ruler, and spent his time sleeping night and day, while people who did not sleep deprived him of his estates.

A GREAT DELUGE.

A graphic description is given of the terrors of a vast inundation that swept down the country of the Coleroon on the 17th and following days of December 1678. At Tattuvancheri on a hill a mile and half north of the Coleroon, de Britto had a church and presbytery part way up the hill. People assured him that the overflow of the river never reached this hill. But in the middle of that night he was awakened by the cries of villagers, and found the water rising into the compound. Many ran into the thicket to climb the trees. Before long the water in his house had risen to his breast, so he rushed through the flood to the top of the hill, where were the ruins of an old mud hut. Serpents filled the thicket, and eight of his Christians came and crowded together with him on the top of the hill. There they stood, surrounded by water, and the bodies of men and animals, dead and dying, trunks of trees, beams, roofs of houses, and other debris were continually floating past. They had no nourishment. There was food in the presbytery, but it could be obtained only by swimming. Serpents from all the plain and the thicket directed themselves towards the mound. Some were of enormous size, and the human occupants of the hill-top had to be on guard every instant, night and day, to kill or drive them away.

It was Friday when the waters surprised them. By Saturday evening they had diminished somewhat, but on Sunday rose higher than ever. All prepared to die, being overwhelmed with the mass of rushing waters. After two days of alternating danger and despair they had forgotten hunger. Finally by wading in the water up to their shoulders they gathered wood in the thicket and cooked some rice. After three days the

waters retired, and they came out of their strange prison. The church and presbytery were entirely destroyed. They suffered from exposure to piercing winds. Two Princes invited de Britto to come to their palace, But he asked and received a grant of the land that had saved them, and built a church on it.

Not long after this destructive deluge from the rivers, an equally destructive inundation of the villages of the east took place from a tidal wave that destroyed more than six thousand persons.

ENFEEBLED KINGS.

In 1682 it seems as if the kings were running to ruin, blindly, Tirumala's fatal policy of calling the Moguls had been pursued by his successors. The Princes enfeebled themselves by reciprocal treacheries. Vijayanagar, Ginji, and Tanjore had been despoiled, and the Madura kingdom was invaded at Trichinopoly, by both Ecoji and Mysore. While Muttulinga Nyakar was promenading at Trichinopoly, a Musalman commander of cavalry shut him out of the citadel, and nominally restored Sokalingam but actually usurped the authority himself with the aid of his cavalry, and took all the wives, as well as treasures of the palace. Two ladies committed suicide to escape him. Sokalingam watched his opportunity for two years. Then Kumarayan, General of the Mysore army, attacked Trichinopoly. The commander usurper made a sortie, was ambushed and lost his cavalry. When returning to the citadel Sokalingam massacred him and his Musalmans and resumed his authority.

ASSAILANT OF THE NAYAKAR.

He was now surrounded by four great armies, *viz.*, (1) Kumarayan, who was besieging him; (2) the Maravar, who pretended to defend him, but came to pillage; (3) Arasumalei, general of Samboji, Sivaji's son and successor; and (4) Ecoji. The last two had been invited by Sokalingam, and pretended to come to his aid but really had the intention of repulsing Mysore and capturing Madura. Kumarayan offered peace to the Nayakar with his estates and the restoration of Tanjore and Ginji; but the Nayakar contented himself with remaining an idle spectator of the struggle to see who should be master.

Kumarayan now offered Arasumalei great sums if he would withdraw to Ginji, hoping that he would soon receive reinforcements from Mysore. Receiving no answer from the Mahratta general, he undertook to retreat. He charged the cavalry to simulate an attack while the rest of the army should withdraw. The Moguls were not fooled. Without engaging the cavalry, they pressed his army closely. Then the cavalry ran away, and they butchered the infantry, and captured Kumar-

ayan. Following up this success, they chased the Mysoreans from all the provinces and nearly all the citadels they had taken from Madura. Samboji promised to restore what he took, but he carefully kept everything. Mysore did manage to keep Madura itself with the aid of the Maravar who thought Mysore less dangerous than Samboji.

Sokalinga fell into melancholy and died. His successor this time was his son, fifteen years old, Muttukrishna Nayakar. Enemies occupied the citadels, robbers were masters of the rural parts, villages, and cities, and practiced brigandage with impunity.

Ecoji's tyranny in Tanjore was increasing; he destroyed men, then attacked their pagodas and despoiled them of their treasures. In Ginji Samboji showed himself a tyrant more cruel and perfidious than his father. At the solicitation of Ecoji the Mogul was sending an army against Samboji. Samboji was fighting against Mysore, and had taken all the province of Darmapuri and other territories. He was seconded by the Canarese ruler and the King of Golconda, who were at war with Mysore.

In December 1680 a comet appeared, and then another comet, and the people attributed their troubles to them.

Samboji was besieging the Mysoreans in the citadel of Madura for a year.

A KINGDOM IN FRAGMENTS.

In 1683 we have the kingdom of Madura described as in fragments, the parties possessing the fragments being the Nayakar, the King of Mysore, the little King of Marava, Samboji, and Ecoji. The power of Mysore had been enfeebled by the attacks on his own state by Samboji, so that he was unable to reinforce his troops, and little by little his provinces threw off his yoke and became independent, or joined some one of the other powers.

TYRANNY OF THE MAHRATTAS.

Ecoji had lost some of his provinces to the Maravar. He claimed four-fifths of all the crops, refused payment in kind, and fixed the price himself, so that the whole harvest could not equal in value the money he claimed. And then he would torture cultivators to prove that they could not pay. Samboji's tyranny in Ginji was more frightful and revolting than this.

In 1686 famine had killed off the Maravar to such an extent that they formed only one-thirtieth part of the people; the rest being Musalmans, Pallar, and Udeiar.

POLITICAL DISSOLUTION.

Political dissolution was going on. The little rajas had

shaken off Mysore, brigands and Maravar had fought the troops of Ecoji, and Samboji's invasion of Mysore was powerfully seconded by revolts of the people against their own sovereign. For the sake of meeting the expenses of defence his exactions had been so terrible that the two Brahman chiefs of the Sivites and Vaishnavites, respectively, led the insurrection. One with 70,000 troops marched against the king himself in the fortress of Mysore, and the other ravaged Sattiamangalam with 30,000. The king retaliated by sending an army to devastate with fire and blood. The Siva and Vishnu temples were razed and their worshippers driven out or killed. Strange to say, only Christians were spared.

FAMISHED TIGERS.

In Marava a famine raged for seven years, and drove out troops of famished tigers, any one of which would attack singly a band of a hundred persons, seize the first victim and carry him off. Besides cattle more than seventy people disappeared in a short time. The fear of the people was so great that at night they set guards with fires. They dared not travel at night, and were not always safe by day.

THE CRUEL NAYAKAR.

When the Nayakar expelled the Mysoreans from Madura and regained the city, the Palayagaran of Mullipadi, a just and pacific man, went to Madura to pay his respects to the Nayakar. The cruel Nayakar arrested him, deprived him of his jewels, shut him up in a cell, and sent troops to despoil his territory and seize and torture his wives to make them reveal hidden treasures.

SUBJUGATION OF TRAVANCORE.

At the end of the seventeenth century Travancore was under one of the least of the princes, and was tributary to Madura. Kotar at the foot of the mountains, twelve miles from Cape Comorin, was the southern terminus. It was frequently attacked by the Vadugar, and suffered annual pillage. The Vadugar penetrated as far as Kurakulam, the capital and principal fortress. The Nayakar offered it to them on condition of their delivering to him eight of his ministers who were in possession of his revenues. They killed one or two of the eight, others ran away, and some paid over the money, but the prince attacked the fortress and drove out the Vadugar, killing most of them, and then took the government into his own hand.

PEARL AND CHANK FISHERIES.

As long as the Portuguese held power in the south the Paravar were rich and powerful, but with the disappearance

of the Portuguese they became poverty-stricken. They lived by exchanging fish for rice and other provisions not grown on the barren sandy coast. The principal places on the coast were Taley, Manaparei, Alandalei, Punikal, and Tuticorin, but these had all diminished, and there were no longer any large towns on the fishing coast. Tuticorin, which now has only 28,000 people is said to have had 50,000 in the seventeenth century. The pearl fishery extended forty leagues from Comorin to Ramnad. The sea at its greatest height was said to have not more than three or four feet of water at Adam's Bridge.

In 1700 the Dutch controlled the commerce of the coast of Madura and Tinnevely. They had high buildings on the two islands off Tuticorin, and a fortress and great stores on shore. They made stores of the Parava Churches built by the Portuguese, and drew considerable revenues. They traded leather from Japan and spices from Molucca, for cloths from Madura, and they had two kinds of fisheries, pearls and chank shells.

The chanks were like the shells assigned to Tritons by painters. The spirals turn from right to left; if any were found with spirals from left to right they would be worth millions, as the Hindus thought a god took refuge in a shell of this sort. The Dutch sold chanks in Bengal for bracelets, which were as brilliant as ivory. They would kill an Indian who should sell chanks to any but themselves.

Previously Madura and Marava had divided the profits of the fisheries; but when the Dutch came they gave the pearls of the first day to either Madura or Marava according to the location. Formerly, too, any boat that would pay sixty crowns, or more, could carry on the work of fishing for pearls, and six or seven hundred boats take part.

Later the Dutch company would send ten or twelve boats to explore. Dividing into different roadsteads they would test a thousand oysters at a time. If from a thousand oysters they could get pearls worth a crown, the fishery would be very valuable; but if the value was not more than ten annas, the profit would not exceed expenses. When good fishing was announced boats would come from all quarters. A cannon shot in the morning would be the signal for all boats to start, led by two shallops which would turn to right and left to show the limits. Instantly divers would plunge in at a depth of three to five fathoms, turn by turn, attached to a cord fastened to the yard-arm, to be relaxed or drawn up at will. Each diver had a sack at his belt to carry his oysters. If he found more than he could carry he would pile them up for the next man. Divers would fight under water over their piles of oysters. At times one would kill another with a knife; and

sharks would carry away both divers and oysters. They were accustomed to diving from infancy, but could not dive more than seven or eight times a day, and even then sometimes they would lose respiration and presence of mind.

At midday all boats would return to the shore, when the master would convey to a park the oysters belonging to him, and leave them two or three days to be opened by the death of the oysters. The pearls were sifted through copper basins with holes of sizes, the lowest without holes receiving the seed pearls. The Dutch reserved the right of buying the largest pearls but did not force the sale of others. The shortest way to get rich was to have cash in hand to buy cheaply. People would eat the decayed oysters, and usually this caused much disease.

The fishery of 1700 was very unfortunate, The test was very fine, but at the opening at the end of March all the divers together brought up only two or three thousand oysters, and they had scarcely any pearls. The Christians regarded this as a punishment on the Dutch because they had broken the custom of giving the first pearls of Christian divers to the nearest Christian Church.

END OF THE RULE OF THE NAYAKARS.

In 1734 the Nabob of Arcot took Tanjore, then Travancore. The Mahrattas sent 60,000 horse and 150,000 foot in 1739 into the Carnatic, of which Arcot was the capital. And in 1740 the Nabob himself was killed at Aimbur. The rule of the Nayakars had ceased, and their territories were soon to be incorporated into British territory to enjoy a peace and prosperity unknown for centuries.

J. S. CHANDLER.

ART. III.—THE AFGHAN INVASION AND CON-
QUEST OF PERSIA, 1720-1730.

- 1.—Hanway's *Revolutions of Persia*, 2 vols. 1753.
- 2.—Malcolm's *History of Persia*, 2 vols. 1815.
- 3.—*The Chronicles of a Traveller, or A History of the Afghan Wars with Persia*, being a Translation of the *Tareekh-i-Seeah*, from the Latin of J. C. Clodius, by G. N. Mitford. 1840.
- 4.—Ferrier's *History of the Afghans*, 1858.

THE modern history of Asia records few more singular incidents than the raid by which the Ghilzais of Kandahar overthrew the Sophi dynasty, and made themselves masters for the space of seven years of the capital and great part of the kingdom of Persia. The movements of the Tartar hordes who followed Genghis Khan and Timour were on a larger scale and spread ruin and desolation over wider areas. But the mists of many centuries have dimmed our vision of those tremendous cataclysms, while less than two hundred years divide us from the horrors of the Ghilzai invasion. The tragedy of Ispahan was enacted while George I was king, and our knowledge of that appalling episode and of the events which led up to it is comparatively distinct and detailed.

The ownership of the city and province of Kandahar had long been intermittently disputed by the dynasties of Delhi and of Persia, and had changed hands more than once with little regard to Afghan wishes or sympathies. But during the latter half of the seventeenth century the Persians were in possession, and towards its close the national spirit began to awaken. The Ghilzais, in particular, the most powerful and widely diffused of the Afghan clans, were markedly hostile to their foreign rulers, and began to show symptoms of readiness to revolt.

The opening years of the eighteenth century dawned on a new scene, in which the protagonists were Gurgin Khan, the Persian Governor, and Mir Vaiz, the chief of the Ghilzais. Gurgin, or Georgis, Khan was a prince of the Bagrathion family of Georgia, who had embraced Islam, and was regarded as the ablest and most resolute general in the Persian service. The Shah, Sultan Hosen, who had succeeded his father Suleiman in 1694, was an effeminate devotee, entirely in the hands of a palace clique of eunuchs, to whose choice he owed his elevation. To this junto it appeared that the time had come to check the turbulence of the Kandahar tribesmen, and that Gurgin Khan was the man to do it. In 1702, accordingly, he

arrived in his new satrapy with an army of 20,000 men, of whom 1,200 were Georgians. This force was sufficient to crush opposition, and none was offered; but the Vali was determined to presume the will and take it for the deed, and allowed his troops to harry the people as if their rebellious intentions had been actually carried out. After four years of this reign of terror the Afghans sent a secret deputation to Ispahan to entreat relief. It was coldly received, and returned after many delays without obtaining any redress.

Mir Vaiz, the Kalantar, or chief magistrate of the city, was the most wealthy and influential, as well as the ablest and most ambitious Afghan in Kandahar. He was man of unswerving purpose, capable of the most far-seeing designs and the most consummate dissimulation. The fire of tribal patriotism glowed in his breast with an ardour worthy of any of "Plutarch's men;" he loved his people and hated their oppressors as fervently as ever did Themistocles or Hannibal. In him Gurgin Khan recognized the embodiment of that spirit which he had been sent to crush, and of him he resolved, in an evil hour for himself, to make an example. He arrested the Ghilzai leader as a dangerous and disaffected person, and sent him to Ispahan with a warning to the Shah's ministers that if they wished for peace in Kandahar he should never be allowed to return thither. Thinking himself now safe from Afghan opposition, he dismissed the bulk of his Persian troops. But he had fatally misjudged his men and the court to which he sent him. Judicious bribery soon won for Mir Vaiz the favour of the corrupt ring of officials at Ispahan, and admission to the royal presence. At this audience he defended himself and his countrymen so skilfully against the accusations of Gurgin Khan, and spoke, at the same time, with such insidious moderation and even eulogy of his accuser as to convince the Shah that he was a loyal subject falsely suspected of treason. He was taken into favour, and soon succeeded in instilling into the minds of the court the belief that the Georgian renegade was strengthening himself at Kandahar with a view to revolt against his sovereign. He might now have easily obtained leave to return with honour to his own country, but represented himself as only too happy in the enjoyment of the royal favour at Ispahan, and talked of sending for his family to join him. Meanwhile, he begged to be allowed to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. The request was granted, and to Mecca he went, and thence to Medina, and from the Mullahs of each of the holy places he secretly obtained a *fatwa* declaring it to be the bounden duty of all Sunnis (such as the Afghans) to wage war against and exterminate all Shias (such as the Persians) who presumed to hold them in subjection.

Armed with these documents he returned to Ispahan, there further to bide his time and mature his schemes of vengeance.

An unlooked-for turn of fortune aided his plans. An Armenian adventurer named Israel Ori, who had found his way into the Russian service, was sent in 1708 by Peter the Great on an embassy to the Shah. Some idle boasts of his royal ancestry gave rise to a rumour that he was the king foretold in Armenian prophecies who was to conquer Persia. The French ambassador, for reasons of his own, played upon the credulity of the ministers, and pointed out that the letters of the name of Israel Ori also spelt the words *Il sera roi*. A very pretty scare was thus created at Ispahan, and Mir Vaiz was consulted as to whether Ori should be admitted to the capital or no. His advice was to avoid offending the Czar by a refusal to receive his envoy, but it was coupled with insinuations that Russia was plotting with the Georgians against Persia, and that Gurgin Khan was implicated in the conspiracy. The best way to defeat these designs, he hinted, was that he himself should be sent back to Kandahar to keep his countrymen firm in their allegiance to the Shah. The bait was swallowed, and Mir Vaiz furnished with letters to the Vali, enjoining that he should be restored to his former office of Kalantar and honourably treated. Private instructions were also given him to keep a watch on the Governor, and to report any symptoms which he might evince of rebellious intentions.

On his arrival at Kandahar, Mir Vaiz was welcomed by his countrymen with all the honours due to a returning Haji and a royal favourite. But Gurgin Khan, though he obeyed the Shah's *firman* and reinstated the Ghilzai chief in his office, was not yet beaten, and resolved to deal his enemy a blow which should, if tamely submitted to, degrade him in the popular esteem, or else goad him to some rash act of resistance which might furnish an excuse for his destruction. Mir Vaiz had a daughter, the fame of whose beauty had reached the Governor's ears, and, determined to strike through her at her father, he demanded that she should be sent to his harem.

The insult was atrocious, but Mir Vaiz was not the man to allow his hand to be forced by any provocation. Affecting submission, he selected from his household a handsome slave girl whom he tutored to play the part of his daughter and sent to Gurgin Khan's seraglio. The Governor, completely hoodwinked, and convinced that Mir Vaiz was really anxious for a reconciliation, ceased to regard him with suspicion. The inscrutable Ghilzai's next step was to instigate a rising among the Kakar and Abdali tribesmen, to put down which Gurgin Khan sent out nearly all the troops at his disposal, including six hundred of his Georgians. Mir Vaiz now felt

THE AFGHAN INVASION AND

that his enemy was at last delivered into his hand, and invited the Vali to an entertainment at one of his country houses, a few miles distant from the town. The invitation was accepted, and after the banquet, at which Gurgin Khan and his suite had drunk freely, the guests retired for the usual *siesta*. When all were sound asleep, Mir Vaiz and his partisans fell upon them and slaughtered them to the last man. The Ghilzai chief then donned the robes of the murdered Vali, and bade his followers put on the garments of their other victims. Thus disguised, and mounted on the horses of their late guests, the party set out for Kandahar, and reaching the citadel under cover of night, were admitted by the unsuspecting guards, whom they quickly cut down. At a given signal a strong body of armed Afghans, who had been concealed in the town, rushed in and put the rest of the garrison to the sword. The gates were closed, and not a man escaped.

On the morrow Mir Vaiz called together the leading men of the city and expounded to them the situation. They had drawn the sword, he told them, and must throw away the scabbard. Persia had been offended past forgiveness, and their only hope of safety lay in strenuous defence of the liberty they had won. Nor was the wrath of the Shah much to be dreaded; he had seen the rottenness of the Persian government, and assured them of its incapacity for any vigorous action. His eloquence bore down the opposition of the pro-Persian and pro-Mogul factions, and the production of the *fatwas* which he had obtained at Mecca and Medina enlisted on his side the Afghan hatred of the heretical Shias. His counsel was adopted by acclamation, and all swore to stand by him to the last.

Three days later, the Georgian six hundred, after a successful punitive expedition against the Abdali insurgents, returned to Kandahar. When within musket shot of the walls, they were received by artillery fire, and attacked by Mir Vaiz at the head of 5,000 horse. But the Georgians were tried soldiers, and though taken by surprise made a gallant resistance. Their losses were heavy, but the survivors fought their way back to Persia. As an instance of their hardihood, Hanway relates that while they were crossing a river, closely pressed by their pursuers, "one of them, who was dismounted, seeing an Afghan riding towards him at full speed, turned back to meet him, and holding out to him with one hand his sabre, as if he intended to surrender, with the other shot him through the head with a pistol; then, leaping upon the dead man's horse, he plunged into the river, which he crossed under the incessant fire of the enemy."

Leaving some troops to guard the passes, Mir Vaiz hastened back to Kandahar, to organize his forces and prepare for a siege. Meanwhile, he wrote to the Persian Prime Minister to explain that Gûrgin Khan had been killed in an *émeute* provoked by his oppression, and that he himself had been forced by the insurgents to assume the Governorship; but that his heart was still true to his master the Shah, and that if left to himself for a time he hoped to be able to bring his countrymen back to their allegiance. He therefore deprecated the despatch of an avenging force as likely to drive the Afghans to seek aid from India. To the ministers of the Mogul Emperor, Bahadur Shah, son and successor of Aurangzib, he also wrote letters, asking for benevolent neutrality for the moment, and for active support in case of need, and dwelling on the tie of a common creed which united the Sunni Musalmans of India with the Afghans against the misbelieving Persians. Favourable replies to these letters were received from Delhi, while the missive addressed to the Prime Minister at Ispahan was so far successful that, instead of an avenging army, the Court sent an envoy to attempt by mingled threats and promises to recall the Kandaharis to a sense of their duty. He met with a contemptuous reception from Mir Vaiz, and was detained as a prisoner. A second envoy shared the fate of the first, upon which the Shah's ministers, convinced at last that words were useless at Kandahar, proceeded to try the effect of blows. But even then they frittered away their strength in fragmentary efforts despatching no less than four expeditions in 1710-11, all of which were driven back in hopeless rout by the Afghans. A more serious effort was made in 1712. Kai Khusru, nephew of Gurgin Khan, and his successor as Vali of Georgia, was chosen to avenge his murder, and entrusted with an army of 30,000 men, including a strong regiment of his own countrymen. Advancing by Herat and Farrah, he forced the passage of the Helmand, and pushed rapidly on to invest Kandahar. The garrison offered to capitulate upon terms, but when Kai Khusru insisted on unconditional surrender, resolved to hold out to the last. Mir Vaiz, though defeated on the Helmand, still kept the field, and persistently harassed the enemy by cutting off their supplies. These tactics had the desired effect. The Persian army, its ranks thinned by disease, privations and desertion, was reduced in a few months to a third of its original strength, and Kai Khusru was compelled to raise the siege and attempt a retreat. But the resolution was formed too late. Mir Vaiz, at the head of 16,000 men, attacked his enfeebled troops almost before they had begun their westward march, and showed, what has so often been proved since, that the Afghans

is a bad man to retreat from. Khusru himself, followed by his few remaining Georgians, found a soldier's death; of his other troops only seven hundred made their way back to Persia.

Mir Vaiz was now recognized by his countrymen as independent ruler of Kandahar, and in his name the *khutba* was read and coin issued. But his reign was brief, and he died of a wasting disease in 1715—with his last breath he exhorted the tribesmen whom he had welded into a nation—barbarous, indeed, yet still, for the time, a nation—never again to submit to the Persian yoke, and assured them that if they remained united it would be within their power to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to occupy Ispahan itself. This had long been his fixed idea, and into the mind of at least one of his hearers his dying prophecy sunk deeply.

That hearer was his eldest son, Mahmud, a lad of eighteen, who had fought with distinction by his father's side, but on the ground of his youth was passed over for the succession in favour of his uncle, Mir Abdullah. The latter, though he had sworn fidelity to the policy of Mir Vaiz, now proposed to send an embassy of reconciliation to the Shah. The terms to be offered were that Persia should relinquish all claim to interfere in the internal affairs of Kandahar, and should resign the province and its dependencies to the Ghilzais in perpetuity, the chiefship becoming hereditary in the family of Mir Abdullah. The Afghans, in return, were to pay a moderate tribute, or, according to the historian followed by Malcolm, were merely to recognize the suzerainty of the Shah. The proposal raised a storm of indignation among the tribal leaders, and was denounced as a return to slavery, and an abandonment of the dazzling projects of conquest and plunder which Mir Vaiz had held out to them. But in spite of opposition Mir Abdullah made secret overtures in the sense above indicated to the Court of Ispahan, a fact which soon came to the ears of Mahmud.

Placed in a position somewhat resembling that of Hamlet, the son of Mir Vaiz did not long suffer the native hue of resolution to be sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought. At the head of a party of forty adherents, he seized the palace, killed his uncle with his own hand, and was acclaimed as his successor by the assembled tribesmen. From 1717, the date of his accession, the Persianizing party in Kandahar may be regarded as extinct. The Shah's government, indeed, was in no condition to attract adherents. Weakened by its futile attempts to reconquer the revolted Afghans, it was still further exhausted by a rising among the Kurds, whose ravages extended almost to the walls of Ispahan. Northern Khorasan, too, had

been invaded by the Uzbeks, in combination with the Abdalis, whose young chief Azadullah had seized Herat, and defeated the Persian force sent against him.

This disaster left Persia with only one body of troops deserving the name of an army, and that had been marched to Bandar Abbas, under the command of her last remaining general Lutf Ali, son-in-law of the Prime Minister, Fattah Ali Khan. The object of this expedition was to recover some islands in the Persian Gulf, which had been seized by the Arab chief of Muscat, and Portuguese ships had been hired to transport the troops to the scene of action. But the price which had been agreed on for this service was not forthcoming; the Portuguese commodore withdrew his fleet; and Lutf Ali Khan, unable to proceed further, halted at Bandar Abbas. It was at this juncture, in 1720, that Mahmud, after three years of preparation, resolved to execute the project which he had inherited from his father for the invasion of Persia.

Kirman was the point which he selected for attack, and he decided to reach it by a march through the desert of Seistan. It was a daring scheme for a general of twenty-three, with an army not more than 12,000 strong; but though he lost heavily in men and horses from scarcity of water, he got through with the bulk of his force, and Kirman, taken completely by surprise, submitted without resistance. The Afghans abused their bloodless conquest by the most cruel exactions, but their triumph was brief, for Lutf Ali Khan, advancing by forced marches from Bandar Abbas, compelled Mahmud to make a hasty retreat to Kandahar. To guard against a repetition of the attack, the Persian general strengthened the fortress of Kirman, and concentrated troops at Shiraz. But the ministers at Ispahan promptly nullified the effect of his success. By refusing supplies they constrained Lutf Ali Khan to help himself from the country around him. Complaints were urged at court by the influential nobles whose estates had suffered from requisitions and he was removed from his command, and summoned to the capital to answer a charge of having conspired with his father-in-law, Fattah Ali Khan, to promote the rising already alluded to among the Kurds. His ready obedience, which it would have been difficult to enforce, to the Shah's *firman* was the best proof of his innocence; but his guilt was a foregone conclusion. The Prime Minister was blinded and disgraced; Lutf Ali Khan was thrown into prison; and the army which he had left at Shiraz quickly melted away.

It might now have been thought that the Shah and his advisers had no mistakes left to commit; but they contrived to add another to the list. Vachtanga Bagrathion, in whose family the

Governorship of Georgia was hereditary, was next in succession to that office after the death of Kai Khusru at Kandahar. But having refused to exchange Christianity for Islam, which seems to have been a condition of the tenure, he had been banished to Kirman. In 1719, however, he agreed to accept the faith of the prophet, and was appointed Vali of Georgia. On reaching Tiflis he found that his country had been ravaged by the Lesghees, a predatory tribe of the Caucasus, and resolved to teach them a lesson which should prevent them from repeating their incursion. The marauders, alarmed by his preparations, entreated the Shah's interposition, and Sultan Hosen put a peremptory veto on the campaign of retribution which had been already begun. "If you have put your foot in the stirrup," so ran his rescript, "alight immediately. If you have drawn your sabre, return it at once to the scabbard. If you are in pursuit of the Lesghees, stop the instant you receive our commands." Vachtanga, who was in full march when this imperious mandate reached him, obeyed and returned to Tiflis, but vowed, as he sheathed his sword, never again to draw it in Persia's quarrel.

Mahmud, who since his defeat at Kirman, had been dreading a counter-invasion of Kandahar by Lutf Ali Khan, now resumed the offensive. His influence, which had been shaken, revived, troops flocked to his standard, and by the close of 1721 he at the head of an army of 25,000 men, of whom 15,000 were Ghilzais, and the remainder Abdalis, Biluchis and Kabulis. Leaving his brother Mir Hosen as regent of Kandahar, he again set out on his desert march through Seistan, and reappeared before Kirman in January 1722.

The resistance of the town was slight, but the garrison left in the citadel by Lutf Ali Khan held out obstinately. Mahmud had no siege guns, and after several vain attempts to storm the fortress accepted the sum of £6,000 offered as ransom by the besieged, and set out for Yezd, some 200 miles from Kirman. Here again his efforts to capture the town were unsuccessful and soon abandoned. Leaving Yezd untaken, he pushed on towards his real objective, and early in March reached Gulnabad, a village, nine miles from the Persian capital.

Ispahan stands upon the north bank of the river Zindarúd, which, in the spring, the season of Mahmud's advance, is unfordable, but is crossed by several bridges. On the south of the river lie the suburbs of Abbasabad and Julfa. The city was surrounded by a wall, and is stated by Sir J. Malcolm to have contained some 600,000 inhabitants; but this may be an instance of the tendency to overrate the population of large towns, while underestimating that of the

country, which was almost universal among Indian Officials in pre-census days.

The Persian court had made no preparations to meet the coming storm, and was now a prey to the most distracted counsels, the Shah being pulled in opposite directions by his two principal advisers, Muhemmad Kali Khan, the new Prime Minister, and Abdalla, chief of the Arab tribes, subject to Persia, and commonly called the Arabian Vali. The former argued that safety lay in remaining on the defensive, that the Afghans had shown at Kirman and Yezd their inability to reduce a fortified town, and that time was on the side of Persia. The latter denounced timid counsels and urged an immediate attack on the insolent brigands who had dared to insult the majesty of the throne. The forward policy carried the day, and on 7th March 1722 some 50,000 troops, regulars and militia, marched out to Gulnabad. But as if to ensure defeat, a joint command was entrusted to Muhammad Kali Khan and the Arabian Vali, whose views were incompatible and who had no idea of concerted action. The 8th March had been chosen as a propitious day by the Shah's astrologers, and for some twenty hours the opposing armies lay in full view of each other. In the Afghan Camp were some 23,000 men, ragged and way-worn; horses lean and jaded; no artillery but a hundred small swivel guns, mounted on as many camels; everything colourless and dingy, save where sabres or lances glittered in the sunlight. On the Persian side were more than double their number of showily clad troops, sleek horses, gaily caparisoned, a train of twenty-four field guns, sumptuous tents and camp equipage. Of generalship, there was not, perhaps, very much on either side. But Mahmud, if not a military genius, could at least impose his will on the whole of his army, and in Amanulla Khan, to whom his right wing was entrusted, he had a capable divisional commander. Up to, and even beyond, the last moment the Persian leaders were unable to agree. Muhammad Kali Khan still insisted on waiting for the enemy's attack, but the Vali of Arabia, exclaiming, "we are not here to deliberate but to fight," galloped off to his division and ordered an immediate advance. The Afghan left quickly gave way, but the Arabs, instead of pressing their advantage, fell to plundering Mahmud's camp. Muhammad Kali Khan now ordered an attack on the right wing, but Amanulla drew him on by a feigned retreat and then suddenly unmasked his batteries. A volley from the hundred swivel guns threw the Persians into confusion, which was turned to rout by charge of the Afghan horse. The whole of their artillery train was captured and turned against them. The Arabian Vali, having secured the contents

of Mahmud's military chest, made the best of his way back to Ispahan. The losses of the vanquished amounted, according to Hanway, to 15,000 men, and many provincial nobles went straight from the field to their own homes.

When the wreck of the beaten army straggled into Ispahan, confusion grew to panic. The Shah talked of removing the Court to Kasvin, but the idea was dropped. New levies were called out, the fortifications strengthened, and the bridge-heads entrenched. Orders were issued to the Provincial Governors to march with all the troops they could raise to the relief of the capital. The Arabian Vali, in spite of his misconduct at Gulnabad was made Governor of the city and Commander-in-Chief.

Mahmud, mean while, though victorious in the field, was in a state of extreme anxiety and indecision, and after several days of inactivity was on the point of retreating to Kirman when he received a letter ostensibly written by the Vali, but really it is said, dictated by the Shah himself. This epistle assured Mahmud that the writer, as a co-religionist, sympathised with the Afghans in their enterprise, but advised them, in their own interests, to return to their country with the spoils they had secured. If they would only go away, their retirement should be unmolested. Mahmud should be recognized as independent ruler of Kandahar, and a large sum of money should be paid him as a token of the Shah's good will! Concluding that such offers could only be prompted by a conviction of hopeless impotence, Mahmud resolved to prosecute the siege.

On 12th March he moved towards the city, and occupied the fortified palace of Farahabad, which was abandoned on his approach. His next step was to attack the Armenian suburb of Julfa, whose inhabitants formed a distinct community, retaining their national religion and customs, and were industrious and loyal, though of late years oppressed subjects of Persia. They made a creditable resistance, and asked for aid from Ispahan; but the Vali, hoping, perhaps, that the Afghans would depart when satiated with the plunder of the suburb, sent the Armenians no assistance. Thus deserted, and a weak point in their defences having been breached by an elephant which the Afghans brought against it, they were forced to capitulate. A ransom of 70,000 tomans, (£175,000), and a tribute of fifty maidens were the terms imposed upon them. The latter condition was complied with, and the former enforced by house-to-house searches and by torture of those who were suspected of concealing their wealth.

On 21st March Mahmud tried to seize the Abbasabad bridge, but the Persian troops who guarded it stood their ground,

and the Afghans withdrew "after riding and hollowing, rather than fighting, for the space of six hours." Two days later a more vigorous attack carried the bridge of Shiraz, and the defenders were in full flight when Ahmad Agha, "a white eunuch," brought up a reinforcement which drove the Afghans back across the bridge. Their discomfiture was completed by a volley of canister from a battery on the banks of the river, the guns of which were pointed by one Jacob Charpentier, a Courlander employed as an artillery man in the Shah's service.

Mahmud's confidence was so far dashed by this reverse that he offered to raise the siege on condition that he should be recognized as sovereign not only of Kandahar and Kirman but of the whole of Khorasan, and that one of the Shah's daughters, with a dowry of 50,000 tomans, should be given him in marriage. To these terms, however, Sultan Hosen could not bring himself to agree, and Mahmud now resolved to reduce Ispahan by starvation, with this object he sent out detachments which crossed the river a few marches higher up in its course, and ravaged the country surrounding the capital. "The task," says Malcolm, "occupied his army more than a month; but the lapse of nearly a century has not repaired what their barbarity effected in that period."

On the last day of April Mahmud succeeded in carrying the Abbasabad bridge. A body of Georgians by whom it was guarded got hold of a supply of liquor, and became hopelessly drunk. In this condition they were attacked and cut to pieces; a strong division of the Afghan army crossed the bridge; and the investment of the city commenced.

Ispahan soon began to feel the pinch of scarcity, and all hopes of relief from the provinces were doomed to disappointment. Ali Mardan Khan, Vali of Loristan, had raised a force of 10,000 men and collected a large store of provisions to be thrown into the city. But during his temporary absence his brother usurped the command, and rashly advancing towards Ispahan was attacked and routed by Amanulla Khan, and the convoy captured. The other provincial Governors failed to render any assistance, and Vachtanga, Vali of Georgia, whose aid had been urgently invoked by the Shah, sullenly adhered to his vow never again to draw sword on behalf of Persia.

From the capture of Ali Mardan's convoy, the character of the war became bloodier and more embittered. Amanulla had promised quarter to the Persians who surrendered, but slaughtered in cold blood all whom he judged unable to pay ransom. The Afghans, on the other hand, while returning from the victory, stained by this massacre, were set upon by

the people of Ben-Ispahan, some three miles from the capital, who recaptured much of their booty and took many of them prisoners. Mahmud himself, with a body of horse, hastened to the rescue, but fared no better than his lieutenant and lost heavily in killed and prisoners. Among the latter were several of his own relatives, whose capture so affected him that he sent an urgent message to Sultan Hosen begging him to interfere for their protection. The Shah, naturally humane, complied, but his courier arrived too late, and found that the prisoners had been already impaled, in revenge for Amanulla's butchery of his captives. Mahmud had little right to complain of this act of reprisals, but was so infuriated that he ordered the immediate slaughter of all Persians in his hands, and forbade his troops to grant any quarter in future. Reaction from this fit of rage threw him once more into a despondent mood, and he withdrew the bulk of his army to Farahabad, leaving only a weak garrison in Julfa, and strong parties to guard the Abbasabad bridge and other advanced posts.

A vigorous attack might now have forced him to abandon the siege. The Armenians reported the depression prevailing in the Afghan camp, and offered to rise upon the garrison in their quarter as soon as the royal troops were engaged with the main body of the enemy. But the force ordered out for this purpose was entrusted to the command of the Arabian Vali, who after delaying the attack for several days on various pretexts, returned without having achieved or even attempted anything.

Towards the end of June the Shah sent his fourth son, Tahmasp Mirza, whom he had declared to be his heir, to make his way out of Ispahan and endeavour to raise an army in the provinces. The prince left the city under cover of night with an escort of 300 horsemen, and after an obstinate engagement with the Afghan pickets, reached Kashan in safety. Thence he proceeded to Kasvin, and though he failed to raise any force sufficient to relieve the capital, yet the fact of his escape led as will be seen in the sequel, to important results.

Meanwhile this successful evasion of the heir to the Persian throne was a heavy blow to Mahmud, who threatened to execute the commandant of the pickets which had failed to intercept him. This was his own first cousin, Mir Ashraf, son of Abdulla Khan, by whose murder Mahmud had cleared his path to power. Ashraf had contrived to dissimulate his hatred for his father's murderer, and by his uniform courage and conduct had won the esteem of the army at large. He now made so good a defence before an informal court martial of chief officers, showing that he had only had a hundred

men under his orders, of whom thirty fell in combat with thrice their number, that he was acquitted and restored to his command. But even less love must have been lost between the cousins after than before this incident.

Day by day and week by week the famine grew sorer and yet more sore in Ispahan. No attempt had been made during the early months of the siege to economize the stock of provisions, and swarms of non-combatants from the country had flocked into the city for refuge. Now, however, the hunger-stricken wretches deserted in crowds, nor did the pitiless slaughter by the Afghans of all such as fell into their hands deter the rest from attempting to escape. The flesh of horses and donkeys became a luxury confined to the rich; dogs, cats and rats were greedily devoured; leather softened in boiling water was gnawed; the powdered bark of trees sold at the price of cinnamon; and finally the starving citizens were reduced to feeding on the bodies of the dead. In several instances whole families poisoned themselves together, and corpses which none had heart or strength to bury strewed the city and polluted the water of the river. The European residents French, English and Dutch, are said by the Jesuit Krusinski [author of the *Tareekh-i-Seeah*, who was in Ispahan during the siege], to have fared better than the natives. They had laid in a good store of provisions, and when the famine grew severe shut themselves up in their houses and kept constant guard to prevent an irruption of the famished mob.

The Shah in his extremity sent an envoy to signify his assent to the terms which he had previously rejected when offered. But his acceptance came too late, and elicited only the haughty reply that all that he proposed to give was already in Mahmud's power, and that nothing short of the full sovereignty of Persia would now satisfy the conqueror's demands.

One last hope remained. Malik Mahmud, Governor of Seistan, had marched from his province with 10,000 regulars to relieve the capital, and was known to have reached Gulnabad. It was thought that this force, in concert with such troops in Ispahan as were still serviceable, might force the Afghans to raise the siege. But Mir Mahmud overcame the loyalty of his namesake by the bribe of the principality of Khorasan and the Malik, deserting the cause of the Shah, set out with his army for Meshed, the capital of his new dominions.

This final stroke reduced the Court to despair, and towards the end of September Sultan Hosen sent ministers to Mahmud to arrange terms of capitulation. But they had to deal with one who knew not pity, and in whose eyes the miseries of the besieged were but a means to secure his end.

Mahmud did not choose to enter the city until it was wholly incapable of resistance, and for a full month he prolonged the discussion as to terms and the agony of Ispahan, until the Shah, unable longer to endure the horrors of the situation, resolved to end it at whatever cost. He had since the beginning of the siege, shut himself up in the palace, but on 21st October, clad in robes of mourning, he took leave of his household and made a farewell progress through the streets of his capital. The dreadful sights which met his eyes on every side moved him to tears, and he declared aloud that heaven had judged him unworthy of the throne. Next morning he sent ministers to conduct his daughter to Mahmud's head-quarters, and to announce his intention of resigning the crown to his conqueror. The surrender was accepted, and on 23rd October 1722 the last of the Sophis, mounted on a horse sent for him by Mahmud, set out for Farahabad with a *cortege* of some three hundred nobles and ministers. The ungenerous Afghan did not deign to go out to meet his humbled foe, who was even kept waiting outside the camp for half an hour on the pretext that Mahmud was asleep. When he was at length admitted to the palace which had been his own, he found Mahmud seated, and not till he approached him and saluted did the victorious upstart rise and return his greeting. When both were seated Sultan Hosen expressed his readiness to resign the crown and his hope that his successor might wear it in all prosperity. Taking the royal aigrette from his turban he offered it to the Afghan Vizier, from whom, however, Mahmud refused to receive it. Sultan Hosen then rose, affixed the plume with his own hands to the turban of the usurper, and with the words "Reign in peace" resumed his seat. Coffee was then served, and Mahmud while drinking it addressed the fallen king. "Such," he said, "is the instability of human grandeur. God disposes of Empires as he pleases, and takes them from one nation to give to another. But I promise to consider you always as my own father, and will in future undertake nothing without your advice."

Sultan Hosen in reply begged him to respect the women of his seraglio, and to regard his sons as his own brothers; to show favour to the ministers who had served him faithfully, to protect the poor, and administer the laws. He was then conducted into a more private chamber where, after signing a formal deed of abdication, he knelt down beside Mahmud, and the Afghan high priest laid his hands upon their heads and invoked a blessing on the new king's reign. Thus the Sophi dynasty, having lasted 223 years, ended in the person of Sultan Hosen, tenth in descent from its founder Shah smail.

Ispahan was at once occupied by a strong Afghan division, and three days later Mahmud, with the *ex*-Shah in his train, made a triumphal entry into the city. He was greeted on his way by the European residents, and alighting at the palace, took his seat on the throne. A separate dwelling within the walls was assigned to Sultan Hosen.

The first care of the new king was to throw food supplies into the starving city, and the next to establish order. The existing Persian officials were retained, but to check their proceedings an Afghan colleague was associated with each. Such Persian nobles as had been loyal to the *ex*-Shah were honourably treated, and the Prime Minister, Muhammad Kali Khan, was confirmed in his post; while that arch-traitor the Arabian Vali was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Thus far Mahmud's conduct had not been without magnanimity, but he was soon to exhibit more sinister traits of character. Avarice stuck deep in his nature and he exacted large sums from the *ex*-ministers and from the merchants of Ispahan and Julfa. But worse than avarice was the callous cruelty of which he had already shown himself capable, and of which still darker proofs were now to follow. Amanulla Khan had been despatched with 6,000 men to reduce Kasvin and, if possible, to secure the person of Tahmasp Mirza. The prince fled to Tabriz on his approach, and the slender garrison which he left behind him in Kasvin obeyed Amanulla's summons to surrender. But the inhabitants, exasperated by his exactions, concerted a midnight rising, and slew some two thousand of the Afghans. Amanulla himself was wounded, and escaping with difficulty from the town made his way back to Ispahan. Mir Ashraf, who had taken part in the expedition, separated from him during the retreat, and with three hundred followers took the road to Kandahar.

This disaster did not come alone. A convoy of treasure which Mahmud had despatched to Kandahar, to be expended in raising fresh levies, was plundered by a petty chief of Seistan. A Turkish army was reported to be marching on Hamadan. And the Czar, in retaliation for the ill-treatment of a Russian caravan by the Lesghees and the Uzbegs of Khiva, had invaded Shirwan, and occupied Derbend, on the Western shore of the Caspian. These accumulated troubles aroused all the innate ferocity of Mahmud's nature. He was standing on perilous ground, and resolved to reduce the risk of revolt by destroying those who were most likely to become its leaders.

On 25th January 1723, the day of Amanulla's return from Kasvin, a large number of Persian nobles and ministers, who

had been invited to a feast at the palace, were massacred to the last man, and their bodies exposed in the great square of the city. A day or two later, their sons, to the number of about two hundred, were collected in an open plain outside Ispahan. Afghan lancers were let loose upon them and they were ridden down and speared like game. Three thousand of Sultan Hosen's guards, whom Mahmud had taken into his own pay, were invited to a dinner spread for them in one of the Courts of the palace. They had no sooner taken their seats than they were set upon and slaughtered by armed Afghans. This *coup* was followed by an order to the troops to kill all Persians who had ever been in the service of the late Government. Nor were these atrocities confined to the capital. Wherever the Afghan power extended, carnage and plunder prevailed. But though the dread thus inspired kept Ispahan and the surrounding districts in subjection, it was impossible for some 18,000 soldiers, however ferocious, to terrorize the whole of an extensive empire. Northern and North-Western Persia were falling into the hands of the Russians and the Turks, while Tahmasp was recognized as king in Azerbaijan. The reports, moreover, of Mahmud's insane savagery checked the flow of recruits from Kandahar. A small body which did join him came under the command of Mir Ashraf, and refused to serve under any other leader.

Previous to Ashraf's arrival, Mahmud had raised some levies among the Kurds, who, being Sunnis, were willing to act against the Persians, and had to some extent re-peopled Ispahan with Kurdish settlers. With the aid of his new troops he had mastered the great part of Irak and Farsistan, and captured Shiraz capital of the latter province. He now marched in person to subdue and ravage the country south and east of Ispahan, but met with no marked success, and conspicuously failed in an attempt to reduce Yezd. His health began to give way, and his intellect to show signs of derangement. The discontent of his troops forced him to return to Ispahan, where he grew rapidly worse in mind and body, and abandoned himself to the wildest superstitious austerities. For weeks together he remained shut up in a subterranean cell, in darkness and almost without food, a prey to visions of remorse and horror, and when he emerged, it was as the mere ghost of his former self. He was possessed alternately by moods of insane terror and suspicion, and by paroxysms of gloomy rage. A report, which proved to be false, that the eldest son of Sultan Hosen had escaped from Ispahan, brought on an access of fury in which he ordered all the males of the royal family of Persia to be collected and put to death before his eyes. He began the slaughter with

his own sword, and thirty-nine princes, out of a much larger number, are said to have been massacred on this occasion. The unhappy Sultan Hosen, hearing the cries of two of his youngest sons, sheltered them with his own body, and received on his arm a blow aimed at one of the boys. Mahmud, sobered for the moment by the sight of his blood, spared the children's lives. His condition after this outbreak grew from bad to worse, and the skill of his physicians, and even the prayers of the Armenian clergy, proved useless. He was attacked by a loathsome disease resembling leprosy, and raving madness supervened. It is said, that his mother, to put an end to his sufferings, ordered him to be suffocated, and that Ashrof, who had been chosen by the army as his successor, refused to mount the throne until the head of his father's murderer was laid before him.

"Thus perished," writes, Hanway, "at the early age of twenty-seven, this destroyer of one of the fairest monarchies of Asia. . . . He was middle-sized and clumsy; his neck was so short that his head seemed to grow from his shoulders; he had a broad face, a flat nose, his beard was thin and of a red colour; his looks were wild, and his countenance austere and disagreeable; his eyes, which were blue and a little squinting, were generally down-cast, like (those of) a man absorbed in deep thought."

Whatever view may be taken of the earlier portion of Mahmud's brief career, few conquerors can have caused more misery than he during his last three years of life, and no one will dispute his claim to rank high among the less well-known scourges of the human race.

Sultan Ashraf inaugurated his reign by the slaughter of his predecessor's personal guards, and the arrest of many of his ministers and generals. The able and ambitious Amanulla was put to death, and his wealth confiscated. Ashraf's own brother, whose fears had led him to attempt flight, was blinded and imprisoned. Thus far the new sultan's severities were confined to his own countrymen, while the Persians were treated with judicious lenity. His next step, which must have been dictated by an insidious policy, was to invite the *ex-Shah* to re-ascend the throne. Sultan Hosen declined the offer, and signed a fresh deed of abdication in favour of Ashraf, who rewarded him by raising his personal allowance from fifty to two hundred tomans monthly, and married one of his daughters. The remains of the princes who had been massacred by Mahmud were sent for honourable interment at Koom, the ancient burial place of Persian royalty.

Before his elevation to the throne, Ashraf had been in communication with Tahmasp, whom he had tried to induce to

move on Ispahan by promises of support against Mahmud. He now renewed his efforts to persuade the prince to agree to a meeting, at which he had every intention of seizing his person. Tahmasp was so far cajoled that he marched with a small body of troops nearly as far as Koom, but learning that Ashraf was advancing with a much larger force, he fled to Mazenderan, a province on the southern shore of the Caspian. Foiled in his purpose, Ashraf returned to Ispahan, where he put to death most of the few remaining Persian nobles on the pretext that they were in league with his enemy.

Tahmasp had fled, but more formidable foes remained to be encountered. Peter the Great had died in February 1725, but his successor, the Empress Catharine, was not less disposed, than he to move back her neighbour's landmark. The Turks, playing the same game on a larger scale, had seized Georgia and Armenia, and now invited Russia to carry out a treaty already concluded by the two Powers for dividing Northern Persia between them. If Tahmasp agreed to this partition, he was to be placed in possession of his remaining provinces. If not, the partition was to be carried out notwithstanding, and the rest of Persia to be made over to any ruler whom Russia and Turkey might agree to set up. But the Afghans were in any case to be expelled.

Ashraf had sent an ambassador to Constantinople to demand recognition of his sovereignty, and the claim was supported by the Ulema on the ground that it was against the law of Islam for Musalmans to combine with Christians against Musalmans. But the Porte was not to be turned by these arguments from its aggressive policy. The Afghan *elchi* was dismissed with scant courtesy, war was declared against the Afghans, and an army of 70,000 men under Ahmad Pasha marched on Kasvin, which surrendered, and thence towards Ispahan.

At this crisis of his fortunes, Ashraf gave proof of the most signal ability. Having secured his base by the construction of a strong fortress in the centre of the capital, he advanced at the head of 30,000 men, and by a rapid march cut off a large Turkish detachment. His agents were busily preaching among the Kurds, many of whom had joined the Turks, the sinfulness of a war waged by Sunnis against Sunnis on behalf of Shias, and he now deputed four Mullahs to urge the same doctrine on the Turkish general. These holy persons adroitly engaged the Pasha in a controversy in the presence of his troops, many of whom were visibly impressed by their arguments. The conference was still going on when the call to mid-day prayer was opportunely sounded, and the Mullahs knelt down with the Turkish officers and implored the Almighty to

establish unity and peace among all true believers. This timely display of piety had its effect. Some Turks and many Kurds deserted to Ashraf's camp, and the spirit of those who remained was dashed by doubts as to the justice of their cause.

To check the spread of discouragement among his troops, Ahmad Pasha offered immediate battle, and a fiercely contested action was fought between Kirmanshah and Hamadan in March 1727. The Turks were defeated with the loss of 12,000 men, all their artillery, and most of their baggage, but Ashraf, with profound policy, returned the spoils taken from their camp and liberated his prisoners. The Porte, sobered by this check, and also by the mutinous spirit shown by the reinforcements ordered to the support of Ahmad Pasha, offered to make peace, and a treaty was signed near Hamadan in September, which provided that the Sultan of Turkey should be recognized by the Afghans as their spiritual head, and should retain all Persian territory of which he was in actual possession; and that Ashraf should be recognized by the Porte as lawful sovereign of the rest of Persia.

Thus relieved from his most pressing danger on the north west, Ashraf sought to strengthen himself in the country south east of Ispahan, and reduced Yezd, which had always been a thorn in the side of the Afghans. But for the occupation of the fresh territory thus acquired more troops were needed, and these were not forthcoming, the supply of recruits from Kandahar having been cut off by Mir Hosen, whose regency had been converted into sovereignty since the death of his brother Mahmud. For the time, however, Ashraf enjoyed an interval of tranquility, and returned to Ispahan to receive an embassy from Constantinople.

Tahmasp was still in Mazenderan, under the protection of Fattah Ali Khan, chief of the Kajars. He had sought in vain for aid from the Porte and from Russia, and had become an object of contempt to the Afghans, who commonly spoke of him as *Sagzada*, or son of a dog. But in his degradation he found an adherent destined to restore him for a season to his high estate, and to prove himself the most formidable warrior whom Asia had produced for more than three hundred years.

Nadir Kali Khan, better known to fame as Nadir Shah, belonged by birth to the Afshars, a Tartar tribe subject to Persia. Brought up as a shepherd, and left an orphan at thirteen, he earned his living as a woodcutter until he was taken captive by the Uzbeks, from whom he escaped after four years of servitude. At the age of forty he had acquired some local reputation as a captain of banditti in the mountains of northern Khorasan. Though wholly illiterate, he possessed the my-

sterious power of subduing men to his will which has marked the great conquerors and tyrants of every age. Finding himself at the head of a small army of nearly three thousand outlaws, he resolved to offer his services to the titular Shah in Mazenderan, and, to give his intended master a proof of his quality, surprised the Afghan garrison of Naishapur, and took possession of the town in the name of Tahmasp. This exploit earned him a welcome at Astrabad, and a pardon for the murder of his own uncle, Governor of the small fortified town of Kelat, with whom he had a private feud. Early in 1728 he joined Tahmasp, and was gladly received. Hitherto the war between Afghans and Persians had been a war of wolves against jackals, but the jackals had now found a tiger to lead them.

Jealous of Fattah Ali Khan's influence, Nadir soon found means of putting his rival to death, and persuaded Tahmasp to march to Naishapur, where he was joyfully received. His next exploits were to drive Malik Mahmud out of Meshed, which he had held since 1722, and to reduce the rest of Khorasan, up to and including Herat. The fame of these successes disturbed Ashraf, who marched out of Ispahan with 30,000 men, leaving behind him a garrison only 200 strong, but sufficient to overawe the crushed and depopulated city. Nadir, who had raised his army to 25,000 men, met him at Damghan, where a battle was fought on 2nd October 1729. Ashraf was no mean soldier, and his troops were full of the confidence inspired by a long series of victories. But they had now met more than their match, and were completely defeated, with a loss of some 10,000 men, and all their artillery and baggage. A second battle was fought at Murchakor, thirty miles north east of the capital, in which the Afghans were again routed with heavy loss. Ashraf hastened back to Ispahan with the remnants of his shattered army, stripped the palace of all its valuable contents, and resumed his flight to Shiraz, having glutted his rage by the murder of the illstarred Sultan Hosen, whose daughters he carried away with him. On 16th November the Persian troops entered the city, and put to the sword the Afghans found in it. Some exceptions, however, were made by Nadir in favour of individuals who were reported by the citizens to have behaved humanely while in power. The Mausoleum of Mahmud was destroyed, and its site desecrated.

Tahmasp had remained at Teheran, but on the news of his general's success set out for the capital. As he entered the desolated harem of the palace, he was embraced by an aged woman, and recognized in her his mother, who ever since the occupation of the city by the Afghans had disguised

herself in the garb and performed the drudgery of a household slave.

Finding himself unpursued, Ashraf halted at Shiraz to plunder the city and district. But for this delay he might have reached Kandahar in safety, for it was not till the last days of December, that Nadir resumed his task of expelling the Afghans from Persian soil. His long halt at Ispahan was doubtless due to deliberate policy. It would be a mistake to think of him as inspired by patriotic ardour. Himself of Tartar race, he regarded Persia merely as a field of action, and, until his influence was firmly established, had no intention of leaving the king whom he had set up in the hands of ministers who would be only too ready to take advantage of his absence to belittle his services. He therefore took warning by the fate of Lutf Ali Khan, and declined to move until he had been granted authority to levy money at discretion for the payment of his troops.

Since their last defeat the Afghans had plucked up spirit to try the hazard of another battle, and took up a strong position near Istakhr. From this they were driven by Nadir on 15th January 1730, but rallied for the defence of a mountain pass leading to Shiraz. Again defeated, they fled into the city, whence they sent envoys to offer to hand over the captive princesses and the royal treasure which they had carried off, on condition of being allowed to march out of Persia with their families, arms and baggage. Nadir replied that unless Ashraf were placed in his hands he would put the whole Afghan army to the sword. Seeing his position hopeless, Ashraf fled from Shiraz by night with the bulk of his remaining troops. They were overtaken by Persian detachments, whom they beat off, but being compelled by the difficulty of the country and the severity of the weather to break up into scattered parties, they were harassed by armed peasants and marauding tribes, and forced to abandon their prisoners and baggage. The treasure to which they still clung invited attack, and they were hunted down like wild beasts for the sake of their spoils. Ashraf himself with two hundred men got as far as the desert of Seistan, where he and all his followers were cut off by the Biluchis after a desperate resistance. Of the remnants of his army it is believed that not more than a few hundred succeeded in regaining their homes.

Thus ended, by the extermination of the invaders, the Afghan invasion of Persia. Of the leading actors in that savage drama but one, and he perhaps the greatest, died a peaceful death; the rest fell in battle or by the dagger of the assassin. But over the ashes of all alike could no more fitting

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epitaph be inscribed than the lines which a living poet* has placed in the mouth of a historical Afghan of our own day :—

"Such is the work of the Merciful, whose will is to smite or to save ;
It is He gives wealth and vengeance, or tears o'er a blood-stained
grave."

H. C. IRWIN.

* Sir Alfred Lyall ; *The Amir's Message*.

ART. IV.—THE FLAG OF THE HOHENZOLLERNS.

FROM where we sit, close by the picturesque little town of Föbingen, we can see the hill and castle of Hohenzollern breaking the dark-blue line of the Swabian Alps. My companion and I often come here; and the pastimes of the great houses whose stammschloss we look at, have furnished us with much to say and to think over. From this distance and from all the country round, the castle presents an imposing spectacle. Set high upon its lofty rock it is visible for many miles round, and looks a fitting home to an imperial race. It is, indeed, disappointing to find, after climbing the long winding ascent that leads to the summit of the hill, that the imposing fortress is little more than a shell; and that the walls contain besides a few living rooms for the imperial family, only quarters for a company of soldiers and a restaurant for trippers. At holiday times visitors come from all parts of Germany; and their presence there in a spring or autumn holiday gives added significance to the commanding aspect and unique position of the Schloss. For this is one of the shrines of latter day German imperialism. And it is no unworthy shrine. In spite of the modernity of the interior, the castle itself remains a striking and deeply interesting feature in the landscape. Although the whole structure is modern, it stands upon the site of the ancient castle. And no one can see it from far or near without noticing how well the counts of Hohenzollern chose their fortress-home. Over a hundred villages, we were told, can be counted from the windows of the castle; and it is just in these villages, and in others like them, that the strength of the German Empire lies. For the German villages are full of big, fair-haired people, men women and children; and the men and women and the children as they have grown up, have been accustomed for centuries to work hard from morning till night, and have been content to be ruled by others and to leave politics to their lords and masters. It may be that they are not so contented now. In this peaceful land of Swabia, too, factories are springing up, and the influence of the cities is spreading; and it may be that the discontented murmurs of the big cities are echoed in the hamlets. But the peasant with his long day's toil coming regularly round has little time to give to such thoughts even though they should occur. His place in the Empire means to him his place in the ranks of the army. The great bulk of the German soldiery is drawn from the villages; and in the villages, too, the great future of the splendid military reserve is still to be found.

With such a prospect as the castle offers before their eyes, who can wonder that the Hohenzollerns for generations and for centuries have been an ambitious race? Looked up to by all within sight of their battlemented rock, it was natural enough that they should, early in their history, acquire notions of power and dignity greater than those of counts, and that they should ask from other Germans the same allegiance that they received from the peasants of their own domains. The ruling instinct, which survives so strongly in the vigorous race, surely came to them in their early days amid these surroundings; and now that they have won their way from rung to rung of the imperial ladder until they have reached the top, it is fitting that their present representative should be the foremost exponent in Europe on the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

In the whole history of Europe there is no more thrilling story than that of the family that has forced its way from a Swabian castle to the throne of Prussia and the headship of the greatest military power in the world. And the interest that gathers round the House of Hohenzollern is not historical nor romantic only. It is a living, political interest which the German people feel to-day and which, through them, effects the policy of the nations of the world. When first we hear of them in history, the Hohenzollerns were counts and soldiers of fortune differing not very greatly if at all from the fighting barons of mediæval Germany. They are emperors now. But still their ambitions grow, and their ascendancy over the German states and people increases every year. Their supremacy is not resented now. It may have been resented for local and patriotic reasons a generation ago. For different reasons it is resented at the present day by the liberal and democratic parties in the towns.

The growth of the democratic party is one of the striking features of the political situation in Germany. It is probable although without statistics at hand, this cannot be said with certitude—it is probable that the social democrats have greatly increased in numbers in the last decade. It is certain that they have grown in influence and that they have received a powerful accession of intellect and ability to their side. The Germans themselves speak of this, and note with some wonder that men of good social standing join the proletariat in their May-day processions; and they do not fail to see that much of the best speaking in the local and imperial parliaments comes from the social democrats. But in spite of the growth of the democratic party, the sovereignty of the Kaiser over Germany, as a whole, becomes every year more real. The ambitions of the Kaiser fit the present mood of the German people. His

personality dominates their hopes and political aspirations. Their fears as well as their hopes demand a leader; and they see in the Kaiser and his house their proper leaders in the movements of nations and peoples, convinced as they are, that the twentieth century is to witness great and far-reaching changes among the states of Europe, they feel the necessity of uniting and consolidating the different parts of the present Empire. That is a preliminary state, the imperialists believe—the consolidation of greater Germany will follow. But in the meantime it is a necessary step and a simple measure of self defence. It is not sentiment only,—although more than most peoples they feel the influence of sentiment in politics, that makes them long for a united Fatherland. A struggle lies before them. They will have to bear the brunt of military and industrial assaults, fiercer than they have ever felt before, now is their time to marshal and discipline their forces, and to unite under one banner for their own safety and for the good of the Fatherland. And there can be no other banner for them save that of the Hohenzollerns. The Hohenzollerns are the natural leaders of Germany. There is no one else. Nearly five centuries ago, when they had first attained to princely rank the Hohenzollerns set up a claim to the imperial throne. They contended in vain against the Habsburgs then. But in the long interval they have increased and the Habsburgs decreased. The Habsburgs have resigned their claims, and the Hohenzollerns are unchallenged in their supremacy now. However loyal the people of Germany are to their princes and kings, they have come in these days to look beyond and away from their own states; and they see in the rising fortunes of the imperial house, the promise of the future greatness of the whole Fatherland.

The Germans in Austria are willing to transfer their allegiance from the ancient to the modern Kaisers if ever the opportunity should come. It is doubtful if that opportunity is any nearer now than it has been for the last thirty years; but it was a German deputy in the Austrian Reichsrath who first gave public utterance two years ago to the belief that all Germans must unite under the flag of the Hohenzollerns. The first of the modern Kaisers, the Emperor William I, when the time came for him to assume the title of Emperor, complained that "he did not understand this Emperor-business." He and his father had been kings, he said, and he did not wish to change. But his grandson understands the business. His words and actions meet the present wishes of the German people. And so the unification of Germany proceeds apace, and belief in the future of the empire spread and grows.

The change that has come over the people of South Germany in their attitude to Prussia and the Kaiser has been gradual ; but no one who goes about among the kindly people here can fail to notice it. The force of economic circumstances has slowly convinced them that they must accept the increasing authority of Prussia in commercial as well as in military matters. The desire to manage them over affairs is giving place to the wish to help in, the future of a greater Germany. Jealousy of Prussia still survives among the Bavarians and Swabians ; but that does not prevent them acquiescing in Prussian views about the expansion of Germany and adopting them as their own. They recognize that the spread of Prussian authority is not only inevitable but desirable for the sake of the Empire ; and the bucolic Swabians and independent Bavarians are willing to surrender their old exclusiveness for the solidarity of Germany. Last year Württemberg gave up its stamps. Bitter jests were made at the time over the loss of these emblems of independence. The Bavarians, who cling most tenaciously of all the German peoples to their national rights, mocked, and warned their neighbours that the Prussian eagle having flown off with their stamps would soon attack their railways. But the Swabians took it stolidly. The change had to come. For economical and for public reasons the railways will soon be managed from Berlin, just as the armies of the southern kingdoms are already directed from this imperial headquarters. But the people are content. In the changes already effected, and in the greater changes imminent, they see the writing out of large imperial plans, which are to strengthen Germany against attack, and which may eventually make it the greatest power in Europe.

Every great nation has something to hope and something to fear. Bismarck once boasted that the Germans feared God and nothing else in the world. That is true enough in the sense that they are as ready now as they ever were to face any dangers that threaten them. But a commonwealth may have something to fear, however brave its people and however splendid its army, and one soon finds, in conversation with the educated classes, what it is that Germany has most to fear. When politics or economics are discussed, the dread of Russia and still more of a hostile alliance between France and Russia instinctively betrays itself in the German mind. That is always present to them. It is not that they are afraid of Russia. But they are afraid that they may have to go to war with Russia sometime, and they believe that if they relaxed their watchfulness Russia would go to war with them. That is the impression that I have formed while

living among many German friends, and I find it confirmed in several of the political pamphlets that are so popular in Germany just now. The Kaiser may have his dreams of a fleet and an Empire over the seas; but it is not for these reasons, primarily, that the Germans wish to make Germany strong. It is not, in the first place, for the expansion of the empire that they cheerfully maintain their huge army and contribute to it both their money and their sons. It is because the army is necessary to their national existence. Russia weighs upon their minds. It is the peril of the immediate future. They are ready to face it, and to force the issue, if necessary. But the dread that in an evil day they might be caught unprepared and crushed between the forces of France and Russia, makes them willing for any sacrifice. The thrifty housewife when she is told that she pays more than three times as much for her sugar and tea as her English sister does, replies, as I have heard more than one reply, "Ah, well, you have not France on one side of you and Russia on the other. We have to pay for our safety." And their safety, they clearly see, lies in the consolidation of Germany under the imperial flag.

It may be somewhat fanciful to associate the castle of Hohenzollern with those dreams and hopes of empire that are now taking shape in German minds; and I have never heard any German do so. But it seems to us, as we continue turning our gaze in the direction of Hohenzollern, that its position is further symbolical of those new aspirations, and of the place which the House of Hohenzollern is to fill in the future of united Germany; The hill of Zollern is not the highest, but it is one of the highest points in the watershed between the countries of the Rhine and Danube. And a glance at the map shows that its geographical position is doubly unique in this respect that it might be taken for the centre of central Europe. It is not a little curious that the idea of a central European federation under the hegemony of Prussia is one that is now a commonplace of the German press. It is to include Austria, Switzerland and Italy, who will be compelled, in the commercial struggles of the coming century, to make common cause with Germany against Russian and American competition. It is not by any means certain that Italy and Switzerland will take the same view; but the German political writers do not make much account of that. Perhaps they are right. If the scheme is for the benefit of those other countries, they will fix to join the Zollverein. The stress of economic competition may lead them round to Germany's way of thinking. But in the meantime the idea is German. One reads in the German press

glowing articles about the picture of that Greater Germany (Grossdeutschland) which with Hamburg as its chief port, is to embrace all the German speaking countries; and which is to take the lead in the yet bigger scheme of a central European confederation. It was only the other day that we read something like this in a North German newspaper; and we discuss it now. By an odd political arrangement the territories of the princes of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen now form part of Prussia. The Sigmaringens are, of course, the elder branch of the family; but about fifty years ago they gave up their sovereign rights to their more distinguished and more powerful kinsmen; and while they retain their princely rank and title their territory is administered from Berlin. So it happens that the soil from which the ancient seat of the Hohenzollern stands is Prussian, and that the direct authority of the Kaiser reaches down to the banks of the Danube. The Rhine is already German except for the little bit between the frontier of Holland and the sea; and it would not be surprising if German hopes travelled along the other great river of central Europe as well. A day or two ago we walked a few miles up the lovely valley of the Danube above the town of Sigmaringen; and with the recollection of much that we had read about the future of Germany still fresh in our minds, it did not seem strange to us that the Germans should look forward to the time when the Kaiser will control the policy and the fortunes of the greater portion of Europe outside of Russia. Already the term "little Deutschlander" is—as it has amused us to notice—employed in the German press to pour contempt upon the opponents of expansion. Little Deutschlanders are not, any more than little Englishers allowed much of a hearing; but some of the more thoughtful writers have pointed out the difficulties in the way of a Pan-Germanic league. It is a characteristic of the experienced writers that they ignore difficulties that must be surmounted before Holland and Denmark can be taken in the German empire, but they recognize the damage that threatens Germany from American competitions and from Russian attack. The dangers may be real; but the difficulties are real, too; however, small they may appear on paper. Germany is more disliked in Holland than in any other part of Europe; and the hope that the Dutch will calmly surrender their independence for the sake of German protection may turn out to be a very slender basis on which, even in imagination to build up the fabric of a greater German empire. As long as these hopes and fears continue to agitate an increasing number of Germans, the prestige of the Kaiser and his house will

grow. The strength of Germany at present is bound up with the army and the Kaiser. On that strength hopes are being raised. Whether or not these hopes are likely to be realized is a question for discussing. Others, as well as Germans, are quite competent to discuss it. But it lies outside the scope of this paper, which is only meant for a record of impressions on the spot.

J. CAMERON.

ART. V.—ON THE BIHÂRI CUSTOM OF PLACING EXPIATIONS ON THE CROSSWAYS.

THE belief that the ills which the human flesh is heir to, that human suffering and misfortune, can be transferred, averted or stopped by shifting the burden upon other persons or things, is current among various races of people inhabiting the surface of the globe. The devices resorted to by them for effecting the transfer or the stoppage are many and various, and invariably take the shape of exorcism, witchcraft, devil-dancing, charms, disease-boats, scape-goats, Jonahs, placing expiations on the crossways, passing days and nights by the invalids in the temples of *Æsculapius* and other deities, and so forth. Of these devices, the custom of placing expiations on the crossways for transferring barrenness on to some others, prevails among the Hindu women-folk of Bihâr, and is described below:—

जिस् अग्ररु को किसी वजहसे लड़का नहिं होता है, वह किसी दोभा या बरसूह को कहने से दो रास्ता के बीचमें अस्नान करति है। अग्रर वहां अपने बराबर सुत दो खरू घरके उधिर नहाति है। इस्के बारे अकीन् वन्को होता है कि जो इस्को पहिले लेंगेगा उधिको इह दोख जिस्में हमको लड़का नहिं होता है वह लागेगा।*

TRANSLATION.

A woman, who, for some reason or other, suffers from barrenness, bathes at the crossing of two roads, according to the instructions of some exorcizer or Brâhman. She measures her height with some thread, and places this thread and some straw at the crossways, and, taking her stand on the said articles, undergoes the bathing operation. She does so in the belief that the ill (i.e. barrenness), from which she is suffering, may be transferred to whomsoever will, first of all, step over the aforesaid articles.

Now, this custom of placing expiations (or articles touched or bathed upon by the patient or sufferer) on the crossways or at the junction of two or three roads, in the belief that the disease or other physical disability, from which he may be suffering, may be transferred to whomsoever will, first, tread upon the same, or to some other place to which the said expiations may be conveyed by some means or other, has many parallels and analogues among the nations of antiquity

* Communicated by Lâlâ Sital Prasâd, Guru of the vernacular school in Mauza Bângrâ, Pargana Bîpâh, in the District of Baran, within the Zamindari of Maharaġ Kumar Guru Mahâdevâsram Prasâd Sâhi of Hâthwâ.

and various other races of people inhabiting the earth at the present day. It was prevalent among the ancient Greeks, who believed that sickness and other evils could be got rid of by means of καθάρματα placed at the crossways, as is evidenced by the following passage from Becker's *Charicles* *:—"Polycles (who was ill) was not satisfied with applying for aid to the successors of Æsculapius, but tried the efficacy of certain charms; while interpreters of dreams were consulted, *expiations placed in the cross-ways*, and aged women reputed to have the power of curing diseases by mysterious arts and magic songs, had been summoned to attend. Whole days and nights had also been passed by the sufferer (Polycles) in the temple of Æsculapius, but to no purpose. At last, hearing of a happy cure effected in a similar case, by the baths of Ædepsos, he repaired thither for the benefit of the waters; but the Nymphs had refused their succour; and, some days ago, the doctor had declared that the patient would never need any herb, save the parsley."

The English translator of the aforesaid work, which is in German, has appended the under-mentioned learned notes on the Greek customs, referred to *supra*, of placing expiations on the crossways, and of an invalid's passing days and nights at the temple of Æsculapius:—

"The belief that sickness and other evils could be got rid of by means of καθάρματα placed at the cross-ways, is well-known. The throwing them into flowing water is chiefly mentioned by Roman authors; nor does the passage in Theocr. xxiv. 92, seem properly referable to this custom. The Roman usage is often alluded to. See Virg. Ecl. viii. 101; Tibull. iv. 4, 7; Ovid. Metam. xv. 327."

The custom of an invalid's passing days and nights in the temple of Æsculapius "appears to have been much in vogue; so much so, that apartments were provided in the temples of the god, in which sick persons might reside. Pausan. ii. 27, 2. See Aristoph. *Plut.* 410, 653. cf. Plaut. *Curc.* i. 1, 61; ii. 1. Probably some temples were accounted more efficacious than others. Thus, Bdelycleon took his father to Ægina. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 122. So also many persons sought for aid at the oracle of Amphiaraos, near Oropos, and threw a gold or silver coin into the holy spring. Lastly, between Tralles and Nysa, not far from Acharaca, there was a village with a shrine sacred to Pluto and Persephone, and Χαρώνιον δντρον whither sick people were brought. Strabo, xiv. 1, 44."

* *Chronicles or Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks.* From the German of Professor Becker. Translated by the Rev. Frederick Metcalfe, M. A. New Edition. London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1895. pp. 133-135.

This old-world custom of ridding an afflicted person or an affected place of certain diseases by placing expiations on the cross-ways, in the belief that the person, who will pass over the expiations, will catch the transferred 'disease or convey the same to some other place, has other parallels, which are still current in various parts of Northern India, especially in connection with the transference of the small-pox. "In Agra and in many other large cities and military stations in the North-West Provinces, when small-pox is raging in the villages around, small-pox festivals are held in the suburbs; and one favorite mode of removing the pestilence is to collect the small-pox crusts in an earthenware saucer, and, placing this on some cross-roads, trust to the wheels of passing carriages to carry the evil spirits in these crusts to some other place."* But the god or spirit of small-pox is politely shown the door or seen off in Japan, not by placing, at the junction of several roads, certain articles into which the spirit is supposed to have been driven, in the belief that the person, who will first tread on the same, will convey the spirit of the disease to some other place, but by hanging the said articles on a tree, or by setting the same afloat in a running stream, as is testified to below by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn:—

"When a person is certainly going to get well of small-pox, a feast is given to the Hosono-Kami, much as a feast is given to the Fox-god, when a possessing fox has promised to allow himself to be cast out. Upon a sando-wara, or small straw mat, such as is used to close the end of a rice bale, one or more kawarake, or small earthenware vessels, are placed. These are filled with a preparation of rice and red beans called adzukimeshi, whereof both Inari-Sama and Hosono-Kami are supposed to be very fond. Little bamboo wands with gohei (paper-cuttings) fastened to them are then planted either in the mat or in the adzukimeshi, and the color of these gohei must be red. (Be it observed that the gohei of other Kami are always white.) This offering is then either suspended to a tree, or set afloat in some running stream at a considerable distance from the home of the convalescent. This is called "seeing the god off."†

But, in Indo-China, the spirit of the disease is expelled by setting him afloat in a raft in a river, as will appear from the following description of the Annamite and Cambodian custom, given by M. Paul d'Enjoy in the *Revue Scientifique*:—
"Villages, whose population is being decimated by cholera,

* Extract from a letter by Brigade-Surgeon Robert Pringle, M. D., to the *London Standard*, quoted in the *Englishman* (Calcutta) of Tuesday, June 20th, 1893.

† *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*. By Lafcadio Hearn. Two Volumes. Boston and New York Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1901. Vol. I. p. 147.

offer, with great ceremony, a sucking pig, bananas, oranges, and litchis. On a raft formed of trunks of banana trees bound together with rattan, are placed plates heaped with food and fruits. Vessels of tin and copper are placed before these plates, and little incense-candles smoke around this floating altar, which, after long prayers and solemn salutations, is abandoned to the current of the river. The people hope thus that the spirit of cholera, appeased by these gracious gifts, will consent to embark on the raft, where his appetite can be satisfied, and that, thus, the personified scourge will quit the territory of the village and journey into that of their neighbours. The cholera is, thus, politely shown the door, with all the honors due to the rank that it occupies among earthly calamities.*

But, among the Malays, the disease-spirit is seen off by setting him adrift in a boat or raft lit with lamps, as is evidenced by the following:—"The Malay medicine-man invites the evil spirits, who are troubling a sick person, to be seated upon a lamp-bearing raft or boat, in order that the frail craft may bear them to regions beyond. Whatever may have been its origin, however, the "Lanchang" was, formerly, one of the most popular and well-known items of the medicine-man's programme; and tradition has it that a Malay lady of high position in the state had one of great size and perfection towed down the Klang River in days of yore. The Lanchang, generally, takes the form of a boat filled with offerings to the spirits. They are now, generally, constructed without masts; but, formerly, two masts were used, and the little craft was furnished, moreover, with a *dan-dan*, both at bow and stern. They are, now, however, made in accordance with no fixed pattern; and, even, models of steamers have been similarly used. Money, again, no longer always forms part of the offerings with which the boat is loaded; although it should undoubtedly do so, according to the older usage. This money had a special name; and, in Java, where the custom is still continued, it consists of two or three cents of the current coinage. The Lanchang is loaded with offerings to the spirits, consisting of the flesh of a white fowl, the flesh of a black fowl, parched rice, and other provisions. When the Lanchang is loaded, three tapers are lighted, one at each end and one in the centre; and the medicine-man takes the craft in both hands, and gives it a rotatory movement, several times towards the left, as in using a sieve. He, then, burns incense and raises his voice to a high pitch, while he repeats a spell. The ceremony ends with the launching of the frail craft."†

* *Vide Statesman* (Calcutta) of Sunday the 4th October 1896.

† *Vide Statesman* (Calcutta) of Sunday the 1st September 1895.

There are other methods, followed by Malay medicine-men, for the transference of diseases. One of these is that the medicine-man prepares a select and assorted number of "scape-goats" with the performance of due rites and ceremonies, and places the same in a tray, and also places one end of a many-colored thread in the hands of the sick person, and puts the other end thereof in the tray containing the scape-goats. The disease-spirit is, then, supposed to leave the patient's body, proceed along the many-colored thread held by the sickman, on to the tray, and enter the collection of scape-goats. When the medicine-man thinks that the disease-demon has entered the scape-goats fairly, he loosens three slip-knots (*lêpas—lêpas*), and pronounces some incantations for the purpose of compelling his devilship to depart and, then, throws the untied knots outside the house.

The "disease-boat," used by the medicine-men of Selangor, is modelled after a special kind of Malay vessel called *lanchang*, which is a two-masted vessel with galleries (*dandan*) fore and aft, and is often colored with turmeric or saffron to make it more acceptable to the disease-spirits, yellow being the royal color among the Malays. Sometimes, the Malay exorcizers use, instead of disease-boats, a simple raft (*rakit*), or a small model of the *balei* (state-chamber), or only a set of the banana-leaf receptacles called *limas*.

When everything is ready, the medicine-man places, on the *lanchang*, offerings exactly similar to those placed on the sacrificial tray or *anchak*, and ties one end of a piece of yellow thread on to the sickman's wrist, and the other end thereof to the *lanchang*. He, then, burns incense and pronounces some incantations, whereof the purport is to compel the disease-spirits, which have taken possession of the patient's body, to enter on board the vessel. When he supposes that they have done so, he takes the *lanchang*, or raft, or the *balei* down to the sea or river and always sets the same adrift at the ebb-tide which is believed to convey the vessel together with the disease-spirits thereon to "another country," which is no other than the island of Celebes.

The incantation, ordinarily recited by the Malay medicine-man, in setting the "disease-boat" adrift, is as follows:—

"Ho, elders of the upper reaches,
Elders of the lower reaches,
Elders of the dry land,
Elders of the river-flats,
Assemble ye, O people, Lords of hill and hill-foot,
Lords of cavern and hill-locked basin,
Lords of the deep primeval forest,
Lords of the river-bends,
Come on board this Lanchang, assembling in your multitudes,

So may ye depart with the ebbing stream,
 Depart on the passing breeze,
 Depart in the yawning earth,
 Depart in the red-dyed earth,
 Go ye to the ocean which has no wave,
 And the plain where no green herb grows,
 And never return hither.
 But if ye return hither,
 Ye shall be consumed by the curse.
 At sea ye shall get no drink,
 Ashore ye shall get no food,
 But gape (in vain) about the world.
 By the grace of," etc.

Sometimes, the Malay exorcizer asks the crocodile-spirit, in the incantation given below, to transmit the "disease-boat" to its destination :—

"Ho, Elder of the Sloping Bank, Jambu Apai (*i.e.*, Crocodile-spirit),
 Receive this (*lanchang*) and forward it to the River-Bay,
 It is *So-and-So* who presents it.
 Sa-rékong is the name of the (spirit of the) Bay,
 Si-rékong the name of the (spirit of the) Cape,
 Si 'Abas, their child, is the rocky islet ;
 I ask (you) to forward this present at once to the God of Mid-currents."

Sometimes, the following longer incantation is recited :—

"Peace be with you ! O crew newly come from your shipwrecked
 barque on the high seas,
 Spurned by the billows, blown about by the gale ;
 Come on board (this *lanchang*) in turn and get your food.

In this incantation, the Malay medicine-man says that he recognises the right of the disease-spirits to levy toll all over the country, and that he has constructed this *lanchang* for them as a substitute (*tukar ganti*) for the "barque wrecked on the high seas" (*i.e.*, the patient's emaciated body, of which the said spirits were so recently in possession), which they had lost and in lieu of which they were offered the "disease-boat" in question.*

There arises the question : Why is the spirit of the disease set adrift in a boat or raft in a river or stream ? I am inclined to think that this practice has its origin in the primitive belief that there is some communication, mysterious and awful, between the world of waters and the world of the dead, or, for the matter of that, with the spirit-world. This is nowhere more clearly illustrated than on the occasion of the Japanese All Souls' Day, when the spirits of the dead are supposed to float back in the tiny lamp-lit boats of straw, along some river, lake or canal, to their abode in the nether regions. The intention underlying the custom of seeing off the disease-spirit

* Summarised from *Malay Magic*. By Walter William Skeat. London Macmillan & Co. 1900. page 433 436.

in a boat or raft, appears to have been that the frail craft, on which he is seated, will take him back to his abode in the spirit-world.

Sometimes, the spirit of the disease is transferred, in a chariot, from one place to another, as is done in the Bombay Presidency. This ceremony is known as "*Mātanī rath kḥād-vi*," i.e., "Conveying out of the village the chariot of the village goddess." When plague, cholera and small-pox rage in a village, the *rath* or chariot of the village-goddess, which consists of small pieces of wooden planks standing on wheels, and is decorated with small banners, is carried by one of the villagers in his hand; while some of the latter carry a cock and a goat in their hands, and others carry a cocoanut, betelnuts, cooked food, etc.; the whole procession being led by a *Bhagat* or priest who chants several incantations all the while. The villagers make over the chariot to the inhabitants of another village, and return to their own with the delusion that they have transferred the epidemic, or for the matter of that, the spirit thereof to the latter village. The residents of this latter village, in their turn, pass the chariot on to another village, and so on. When the next village is far off, the transferring villagers place the *rath* in a place, which is hemmed in on all sides by hills, so that the disease-spirit being cooped up, as it were, may die out in solitude. When the last village, to which the chariot is conveyed, is situated on the seacoast, the residents thereof throw the *rath*, and with it the spirit of the disease, into the sea where it is supposed to die of drowning. The goat and the cock, that are carried with the *rath*, are let loose; and it is believed that whoever will catch and take them away will contract the disease. When the procession starts, the women of the village meet near the village-well, light a lamp, and sing songs imploring the mercy of the village-goddess to them.*

In China, when the country is decimated by some epidemic disease, the people go through a mock-performance of the festivities celebrated at the commencement of the Chinese New Year, in order to exorcise away the spirits of pestilence. This mock-celebration is done under the delusion that, thereby, they will "turn over a new leaf," and, thus, free the country from the ravages of the disease-demons, as will appear from the following testimony of Mr. Archibald John Little:—"We found Hung Ya, a nice clean well-to-do city, with wide streets. The principal thoroughfares were festooned with cypress boughs; and tables, with candles and incense burning on them, were set out in the streets at intervals. The poor people were

* *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. IV., p. 419-426.

making New Year, they said, to drive away the pestilence which was decimating Hung Ya, as it had decimated Chungking, Kiating, Chêng Tu and the other principal cities of the province; and the idea of celebrating an imitation of the New Year festivities seems to be to turn over a new leaf and purify the country from evil spirits, as at New Year time. The gods are propitiated with fasting and prayer, and the sale of all flesh-food and the slaughtering of animals is strictly forbidden."*

In Korea, the exorcist, who is always a female, exorcises the spirit of small-pox, by donning a soldier's hat, and taking bells in her hands. She offers to the spirit of this dreadful disease, white cakes made of rice-flour and water, and then baked, and also libations of water. Then she dances until the spirit takes possession of her. Making the exorcist his mouthpiece, the spirit says that there are 53 spirits of small-pox, of whom he is the chief, and that only one-third of those spirits have taken up their abode in Korea by reason of the smallness of the country, and furthermore promises that, if a family will pay its devoirs to him properly, none of the members thereof will be attacked with small-pox.†

The Karens of Burma believe that there are seven malignant *Las* or spirits, namely, the *Las* of madness, epilepsy, lechery, wrath, bad dreams, langour, and diseases, who, though seven in number, are still one, and are constantly desiring to bring about the death of a man. But they, also, believe that each man has his guardian *La* or spirit who resides in his body, and prevents him from being destroyed by the aforesaid seven malignant *Las*, among which is the *La* or spirit of disease. If the guardian *La* departs from the body of a man, the latter is left to the tender mercies of those seven malignant *Las* among whom is the *La* of disease. The Karen, therefore, thinks it a very important part of his duties to be on good terms with his *La* and, therefore, pays great attention to it, presents to it offerings of food, and resorts to many other devices for securing its presence and good will. This he does under the delusion that if he fails to keep his guardian *La* in good humour, the latter will cease to protect him from the attacks of the aforementioned malignant *Las*; and, as a consequence thereof, he will get disease and suffer from other misfortunes.‡

* *Mount Omi and Beyond*. By Archibald John Little, F. R. G. S. London: William Heinemann. 1901. Page 221.

† *Vide the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India*, Part III for 1895, Page 5.

‡ *The Karens of the Golden Chersonese*. By Lieut-Colonel A. R. McMahon, F. R. G. S. London: Harrison. 1876. Page 128.

Among the Burmese, when a man is ill, and the say sayah or the native medicine-man is unable to cure him, the latter declares that the patient is either possessed by a disease-spirit, or is under the spell of a sohn or witch. So a witch-doctor or an inn—wezah is called in to exorcise the spirit or witch. The patient's birth-horoscope, and the charms that may be on his body are examined; prayers and incantations are pronounced over him. Finally, the baydin sayah comes to the conclusion that the man is bewitched. He, then, ties a rope round the patient's neck and pronounces some incantations over him, jerking the line from time to time. He, then, asks the disease-spirit for what purpose he has come. If the patient gives an answer and mentions some object, it is thought to be the thing the spirit requires. It is, accordingly, placed outside the house in the road and left there all night. It disappears by that time, if it is worth taking by men or spirits. The disease-spirit is supposed to be transferred into that article and to go out of the patient, if that article, after being exposed on the road during the night-time, is taken away. If the tugging at the rope does not elicit any answer from the patient, and if the disease-spirit does not go out of the sick man in the way described *supra*, stronger measures are had recourse to for exorcizing away the spirit. A good beating is administered to the patient with a thick bamboo, pins are stuck into him, red pepper is inserted into his eyes; and the louder the patient screams out of agony, the greater is the satisfaction of his friends and relatives, for it is the disease-spirit or the nat-soh that is suffering, and not the sick man at all. If this heroic method of treatment does not kill or cure the patient, another ceremony for transferring the disease-spirit is performed. A middle-aged woman, who is, sometimes, a member of the family, dons a fantastic garb and assumes the name of "wife of the evil spirit." She begins to dance to the strains of weird music, in a shed erected for this purpose just outside the house, at first slowly, and then gradually gyrating more and more furiously till, at last, she works herself up into a regular frenzy or ecstasy. Then, it is believed that the disease spirit has gone out of the patient into her, and that whatever answers she, now, gives to questions are the spirit's utterances. Consequently, her orders are implicitly carried out. She, usually, commands offerings for the disease-spirit to be placed outside the patient's house during the night. If this final ceremony fails to exorcise the spirit away, the Burmese medicine-men and witch-doctors declare that the disease-spirit is too strong to be exorcised by them, and leave the patient to his fate. If the patient possesses a strong

constitution, he occasionally recovers from his malady after the performance of this ceremony.*

But, sometimes, the spirit or demon of the disease is simply expelled from the place or village, which he may be devastating with his ravages, just in the same way as a wild animal is hunted out of its cover by the votaries of St. Hubert. This is strikingly illustrated in the custom called *Era Sendra* prevailing among the aboriginal tribes living about Lohardagga and its neighbourhood, who, while cholera rages in their kraals or villages, engage in the semi-magical, semi-religious pastime of hunting out the cholera-demon, and expelling him from their abiding-places into the villages of their neighbours.

But I must, now, return to the main subject of this essay, and state that the Bihâri custom of placing, at the junction of two or three roads, articles touched by the patient, in the hope that the disease, from which he is suffering, will be shifted on from him to the person who will, first, tread on the same, has many analogues current in the district of Murshidabad in Bengal, which are set forth below:—

A knife, some rice, or *dal* (peas and lentils), and turmeric are placed under the head of the sick person at night. The next day, these articles are given to a beggar or stranger, who is supposed to carry away the disease. This is similar to the South Indian custom of presenting articles passed over a patient to a Nayâdi or a member of the lowest caste among the Hindus of Malabar. When a person is ill, a black country-made blanket, with gingelly, mustard, turmeric, and cocoanut tied up in the four corners thereof, is passed three times over the sickman, and given over to a Nayâdi, together with a cadjan umbrella, a stick, and a cucumber. This gift is designated *kala dhanam*, or offering to Yama, the god of death, whose onslaught has to be warded off by propitiatory offerings. The Nayâdi accepts the gifts, and prays for the long life and prosperity of the donor. Placing the offerings before his own family deity, he prays to him for the boons that the patient's life may be spared, and that the disease from which the latter is suffering may not be transferred to himself.†

In the north of the district, (Murshidabad), rice, betel-nut, and some vermilion are tied in a rag smeared with turmeric; and the little parcel is thrown down at the junction of three roads. The person, who treads on the parcel for the first time, is

* Summarised from *The Burman: His Life and Notions*. By Shway Yoe. Subject of the Great Queen. 2 vols London: Macmillan & Co. 1882. Vol. II, pp. 134-135.

† *Vide the Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*. Vol. IV., No. 1, page 68.

supposed to contract the disease, and, thus, relieve the patient. Sometimes, seven nails, seven pieces of charcoal, one plantain, one sugar-wafer, one betel-leaf, one areca-nut, and a lamp containing some oil and a wick, are placed in a new earthenware saucer painted red; and, then, the whole thing is passed seven times over the head of the sufferer and thrown down at the crossing of three roads, under the impression that whoever will step over the same, first, will catch the disease, thereby relieving the patient. Sometimes, the transfer of the disease is effected by having recourse to turmeric, coloured rags, mustard-seed, and the worship of Shiva. A charm for curing a fever patient of ague is that the sufferer smells, during the day-time, at some turmeric, seeds, etc., wrapped up in a rag. During the night, he throws out the packet into the street. It is believed that whoever will, first, tread upon it will take off his disease. Another charm for effecting the transfer of the disease is that an *ojha* or exorciser is called in on a Sunday, Tuesday, or Saturday, to pronounce some *mantras* or incantations on a piece of bone (preferably the jawbone of an ox) with three red patches on it. Then the sufferer or his friends throw out the bone at the junction of three roads, under the same belief as in the foregoing cases, namely, that whoever will tread on it will catch the disease and, thereby, relieve the sufferer.* But every charm has its countercharm; and one mode of counteracting the evil effects of the charms described *supra* is that the person, who may have trodden on the aforesaid expiations placed at the crossways, should turn round and tread on the same over again. This is but a practical illustration of the medical doctrine that *similia similibus curantur*, i.e., like cures like.

Almost all the ingredients composing the expiations from Murshidabad, are popularly supposed to act as gall and wormwood to witches and spirits and are, therefore, especially used in exorcism or the casting-out of disease-demons.

(a). Grains symbolize good luck galore, and are specially endowed with the power of removing all evil. In the Punjab, grain is kept near the head of newly-delivered mothers to prevent any evil from happening to the child or the mother during confinement, from witches or spirits.† For some mysterious reason, devils, or for the matter of that, spirits do not like peas and fly therefrom. It is on the occasion of the Japanese festival, known as Setsuban, that the Japanese exorcisers cast out the devils or spirits by scattering dried peas towards the four corners of a house; and it is believed that

* *A History of Murshidabad District*. By Major J. H. Tull Walsh, I M. S. London: Jarrold & Sons. 1902. p. 90.

† *Vide*, J. A. S. B., vol. lii, Part I for 1883, pp 206-207.

they will, thereafter, cease from troubling the householders.* For the very same reasons, it appears to me, that rice and *dal* (i.e. peas and lentils) are used, in Murshidabad, in expelling or, rather, transferring the disease-spirits.

(b.) Jinns, and other evil spirits, as also witches, have great dislike for iron. In fact, it is supposed that they cannot approach places where there is iron. For this reason, locks and other iron-objects are kept on the bed of women in confinement. Similarly, witches, spirits and other beings of the same kidney cannot exercise their baleful influences upon armed persons. According to this belief, in the Punjab, some weapons are placed on the beds of women in accouchement in order to scare away those ministers of evil; and the bridegroom arms himself when going in procession to the house of his bride, in order that the fairies and witches may not fall in love with him and carry him away to the elf-world.† It is in accordance with the same belief that, during a cholera epidemic, the people of Mungeli Tahsil, Bilaspur District, Central Provinces, carry an axe or sickle under the impression that the presence of iron wards off the disease or, for that matter, the spirit or demon of the disease.‡ It is for this reason that a knife is placed under the sick man's head, and, sometimes, seven nails are passed seven times over the patient's head, in Murshidabad, for driving out the spirit of the disease.

(c.) Ghosts, demons and beings of that ilk cannot bear the reek of turmeric. It is a sure test that a person has been possessed by a ghost (*bhūt*), if he cannot tolerate the smoke of this spice; but it is a sure indication that he has been bewitched by some witch, if he can bear it§. Hence turmeric is placed under the patient's head, in Murshidabad, for expelling the disease-demon.

(d.) Betel-leaf, betel-nut, plantain, and sugar-wafer are all offered up to deities and the manes of deceased ancestors in Hindu ceremonies. Vermilion is also an object of good omen, and used in various Hindu rites and ceremonies. All these being objects of good omen, spirits and demons cannot stand being near them.

(e.) Pieces of charcoal are carried by thieves and burglars for the sake of good luck or, as some say, as a charm to protect them from coming to grief. This interpretation is not accepted by Mr. Charles G. Leland, the well-known student of gypsy-lore, who says that the coal is simply a sign for money, and that, when the thief comes across a likely purchaser of

* *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*. By L. Hearn. Vol. ii, pp. 498—99.

† *Ide J. A. S. B.*, vol. lii, Part 1 for 1883, pp. 206-7.

‡ *Idem*, vol. lxxi, Part III, for 1902, p. 49.

§ *Ide Dr. Tull Walsh's History of Murshidabad*, pp. 84-5.

stolen goods, he shows the coal to the latter, as if thereby enquiring whether the latter has got any money to purchase the stolen articles with. He says that, in vulgar Gypsy, the word for money is *wongur*, which is a corruption of the better word *angar* (Sanskrit अङ्गार meaning charcoal), which also means a hot coal.* Accepting the view that charcoal is used as a charm, it is very natural that seven pieces thereof should be passed seven times over a patient's head, in Murshidabad, for expelling the disease-demon.

(f.) A lighted lamp is a symbol of good fortune, and forms part and parcel of the paraphernalia used in Hindu worship. It also represents the sacrificial fire used in the *Hom* and other ceremonies of the Hindus. A lighted lamp, as representing the sacred fire, must be hateful to demons and spirits, who fly away from the propinquity thereof. It is, therefore, passed seven times over the head of a patient for expelling the disease-demons.

A quite different method is that either the patient or the exorciser calls out the name of another person, who, if he answers the call, catches the disease of the patient; and the latter, thereafter, is rid of his ailment. The rite from the Murshidabad District, corresponding to this custom, is that a patient ill of "fever" will cover himself in a black blanket. If a passer-by enquires of the fever-patient: "Who are you?", the latter answers "Take my disease." The disease is, thereafter, believed to be transferred to the enquirer. This is similar to the custom, prevalent elsewhere in Bengal, according to which a boy of the age of eight years and upwards, who suffers from the bad habit of urinating in the bed while asleep, covers himself up in a black blanket, goes out on the night of the fifteenth day of the waning period of the moon, and takes his seat at the crossing of three roads. If a passer-by says *कैरे* (Who are you?), the afflicted boy replies *आमार बेजसुनीडा नेरे* (Take my bad habit of urinating in the bed) and runs back home without looking backwards. Thereafter, the habit is supposed to be transferred to the enquirer.

Similarly, in Bengal, the custom of invoking the night-demon *Nisi* is prevalent for transferring diseases. If a person is seriously ill and lying nigh unto death's door, the ceremony of invoking the demon is performed. The Brâhman, who performs the ceremony, goes forth at dead of night, with a green cocoanut having the top thereof cut open, and thrice calls out the name of some person in the neighbourhood. If the latter answers the call thrice, the Brâhman covers up the cocoanut. Thereafter, the disease is transferred to the answering person;

* *Vide The Gypsies* By Charles G. Leland. Seventh Edition. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898. p. 222.

and the patient is supposed to recover. This is somewhat similar to the charm, which is current in the Bombay Presidency, for curing a complaint of the eye, known as the stye. The patient has to knock, at midnight, at the door of the house of a man who has two living wives, and to mutter the following incantation :—

“Sty ! you are the breaker (of the peace) of a house,
To day it is my turn, to-morrow it will be yours.”*

From the most ancient times, even civilized races of people believed that the collective sins of mankind could be transferred to others. In the times of the ancient Hebrews, the sins of the people were transferred to a goat, which was, then, set free in a wilderness, as is described below in the Book of Leviticus : “ But the goat on which the lot fell to be the scape-goat shall be presented alive before the Lord to make an atonement with him, and to let him go for a scape-goat in the wilderness, and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited ” (Lev. XVI, 10 ; 22). The Levitical dedication of a scape-goat is, at the present day, represented by the custom, prevailing among the Badagas, who are the agricultural aborigines of the Nilgiris, of dedicating a scape-calf to carry away the sins of a dead member of their community. During the performance of the funeral rites of a dead Badaga, an elder of the tribe takes his stand alongside of the corpse, and offers up a prayer to the tribal gods that the deceased may not go to hell and undergo the torments of purgatory, and that the sins committed by the deceased, during his life-time, may be pardoned, and carried away by a calf, which is let loose in the jungle and, thereafter, not employed for any work. The idea, underlying the above custom, may also be the basis of the practice according to which a bull is branded and set free at the *Sradha* ceremony of a Bengali Hindu of the wealthier classes.

The idea of transferring the sins of a people or of a deceased person through an animal, survives to this day in the form of the customs of transferring the disease, from which a patient is suffering, to another person or place through an animal, which prevail in the district of Murshidabad, and which may be described as follows :—

The goat is, sometimes, utilized for transferring diseases to an enemy. The goat's ear is bored, and a ring passed through the hole. Then the animal is let loose. If it bleats near the house of the enemy, the disease is believed to be transferred to the latter. Sometimes, a person suffering from a chronic

* *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III., p. 341.

disease lets loose a goat to wander at its sweet will and pleasure, in the belief that it will carry away his ailment. Sometimes, the disease is transferred to a goat which is, then, sacrificed before the goddess Kālī. In other cases, the stuffed skin of a goat is hung up at the entrance to a village or a house to ward off or check the spread of disease.

Sometimes, the disease or physical disability is sought to be transferred to a fruitful tree. Witness, for instance, the Bihārī custom of *बाँकीवार* or of a sick woman's clasping a fruitful tree with both her hands. In North Bihār, if a woman is sick, or if a woman is *जन्मवाला* i. e. her offspring does not survive after birth, she goes out, during the night, on a Sunday or a Tuesday, to a tree which is fruitful, and clasps its trunk by encircling it with both her hands, under the delusion that the disease or physical disability, from which she is suffering, will be transferred to the tree. It is believed that, thereafter, the woman will recover from her ailment, and the tree will wither away. This is parallel to the charm, which is in use in the Netherlands, for the cure of the ague:—"Whoever has the ague, let him go early in the morning to an old willow tree, tie three knots in a branch, and say, 'Good morning, old one! I give thee cold; good morning, old one!' He must, then, turn round quickly and run off as fast as he can without looking behind him."*

Sometimes, the disease-demon is imposed upon and, thereby, sought to be expelled or transferred by the make-believe that the sickman, whom he is tormenting, has died and been buried, and that, therefore, there is no further necessity for his possessing the latter. Among the Sinhalese, the *yakadura* or exorcizer personates the patient and pretends to die, and is, then, conveyed, amid the sham weeping of friends and relatives, to the cemetery, where he is supposed to be buried. Occasionally, instead of the exorcizer's simulating the personality of the sickman, a rude image is made of the patient, and similarly treated. All this is done in the belief that the patient having died, the disease-demon will find that his occupation is gone and will, therefore, go away elsewhere of himself. This is very similar to the Burmese ceremony for transferring diseases, known as *Yaydaya Ya-Yee* or *Yaydaya Sin*. When a man is ill, the Burmese make a small coffin with a tiny corpse inside it, and convey it to a short distance to the east or the west of the patient's house, and buries it there. When the *a-yoht*, or the patient's effigy has been thus disposed of, the Burmese believe that the disease-spirit, finding his victim dead and

* *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 341.

gone, will go away, and that the patient will, then, recover from his illness.*

All the customs and practices, described above, have their basis on that system of beliefs, which goes by the name of Animism. Savage races and uncivilised peoples, who entertain these beliefs, think that the whole universe is peopled by souls or spirits, of whom some have power for good or evil to them, and on whose favours or frowns depends their weal or woe, and of whom they are very much afraid or whom they hold in the greatest reverence. These spirits live, move and have their being throughout the earth and air, and appear to men either of their own sweet will and pleasure, or when they are conjured up by the latter. They also take up their residence, either permanently or temporarily, either in lifeless objects or in living men and animals. If they take up their abode in inanimate objects, the latter, now instinct with a powerful spirit, are believed to have power either to protect or harm human beings, and, accordingly, become the objects of adoration to savages and uncivilized people. This has given rise to the system of religious beliefs broadly designated as Fetishism. The favour of these spirits is sought to be gained, and their wrath appeased, by offerings or acts of homage. Or if they are bent on injuring mankind, they are kept in order by the performance of magical rites and the pronouncement of incantations. The men, who have the speciality for the performance of these magical rites, become known as magicians, wizards, medicine-men, or exorcizers. The belief that incantations, or certain words and imprecations have power to hold in check or destroy the malevolent influences of evil spirits, or counteract the charms of magicians and wizards, has given rise to another idea, mostly current in communities of savage, uncivilized and semi-civilized peoples, that if these words and imprecations are written on some substance, and these inscribed articles are worn on some part of their persons by men, the same will protect them either from possession by, or the malevolent influences of, evil spirits. *Vice versa*, if words of invocation to the beneficent spirits, and representations or images of these latter are worn on a man's person, these writings and images will draw down upon the wearer, the protection and blessings of these spirits. These inscribed articles, and images of spirits, either worn on the persons of human beings, or buried underneath houses and human habitations, are known as talismans, amulets or charms. Among the Assyrians, palaces and houses were protected from being possessed by evil spirits,

* Shway Yoe's *The Burman : His Life and Notions*. Vol. II., p. 138.
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by placing talismans in different parts thereof, or by burying the same under the thresholds thereof. The winged bulls and cylinder seals, unearthed from Assyrian mounds and ruins, are talismans of this nature.

According to animistic beliefs, there are spirits who harass mankind by inflicting diseases on them, and, for this purpose, take their abode in men either permanently or temporarily. If they take up their residence in men permanently, the afflicted persons die. But if these disease-spirits possess men temporarily, they are sought to be transferred to other men or places, by the rites and ceremonies described above. This animistic belief about disease-spirits or demons taking up their residence in the bodies of human beings of their own accord, or under the compulsion of powerful magicians or medicine-men, is as old as the times of the ancient Chaldeans, who believed that the disease-demons or spirits could either be expelled, or their malevolent influences counteracted with the assistance of the beneficent Ea and his son. If the latter's assistance was of no use, the Chaldean patient was left to recover by himself if he could, or to die. This is the reason why the Chaldeans did not possess the science of medicine properly so-called. Similarly, the Shumito—Accads believed in the existence of a beneficent spirit called *Meri-Dug* or *Mirri-Dugga*, whose only duty was to procure the assistance of his father Ea for relieving the sufferings of sick humanity.

This animistic belief is current, in such a persistent form, among the semi-civilized races of Central Asia, at the present day, that even such petty ailments as sore-throat etc., are supposed to be caused by disease-spirits taking up possession of the sufferers' body, and that the same may be cured by the *Peri-Bakshis*' (or professional exorcizers') exorcizing away the said spirits, as will appear from the following testimony of Dr. Sven Hedin, the famous Swedish explorer of Central Asia:—
“A few days afterwards, I fell a victim to a very bad and painful sore-throat, known by the name of *gorkak*, very prevalent thereabouts. After I had tried the beg's prescription, which was to gargle my throat with warm milk, but to no purpose, he proposed that I should give the *peri-bakshis* or spirit-exorcisers a trial. I told him that I did not believe in such nonsense; but that the *peri-bakshis* were welcome all the same.

After dark, when there was no light in the room save what came from the glowing coals on the hearth, the *peri-bakshis* were introduced—three big bearded men, in long white *chapkans* (cloaks). Each carried a drum (*doff*) of extremely tightly-stretched calf-skin, and on these they proceeded to perform by tapping them with their fingers, beating them with

the flat of the hand, and thumping them with their fists. The drums gave out such a volume of sound that it might have been heard at Lailik, six, or seven miles off. The performers beat the instruments at an incredible speed, and all three in exactly the same time. After tapping the drums with their finger-tips for sometime, all three would give a bang at one and the same moment, and then follow it up with half-a-dozen hollow whacks with their fists. Then the finger-tapping would begin again, and the whole process be repeated without a moment's cessation. Sometimes, they sat still; sometimes, they were so carried away by their peculiar music, that they got up and danced; and, sometimes, again they tossed their drums into the air and caught them with a bang. At every round, which lasted five minutes, the beating recurred in a certain order, which explained the fact that all three were able to keep time so well together. The full measure of rounds for putting evil spirits to flight is nine; and once the exorcisers have begun, it is impossible to stop them until the full tale of bricks is told!

The *Peri-Bakshis* are called in mostly at births and by sick women; for the women are much more superstitious than the men. The exorcisers enter the sick room, and gaze attentively into the flame of the oil-lamp, where they say they can see that the woman is possessed of an evil spirit. Then the drums begin at once, while the invalid's friends and acquaintances gather inside and outside the room. But the performance does not end there. When the last thundering roll of the drum has died away, the assembly withdraws, and the *Peri-Bakshi* and the sick woman are left alone in the room together. In the middle of the floor, the sorcerer drives a rod with great force, having a rope tied to the top of it, while its other end is fastened to the ceiling. The woman pulls and tugs at the rope, until she succeeds in getting it loose, while the *Peri-Bakshi* bangs at his drum. The moment the rope breaks loose from the roof, the spirit departs out of the woman.

The hunting falcon, too, is credited with similar powers of exorcism; and is, therefore, called *ghush-bakshi* (the falcon-exorciser). The *peris* or evil spirits are supposed to fear her greatly. During the pangs of childbirth, the woman sees evil spirits flitting about the room, though they are invisible to other people. The falcon, however, sees them, and is let loose in the room to chase them out. It is very evident that the falcon, the drums, and the rope and stick all tend to the same end—namely, to distract the woman's attention to a certain extent, and so make her forget herself.*

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

* *Through Asia*. By Sven Hedin. Vol. I. Methuen & Co. London 1898. pp. 480-481.

ART. VI.—WHIPPING AS A JAIL PUNISHMENT.
A REJOINDER TO "J. M."

HYSTERIA is a charge easily brought, not so easily proved. In the April number of this Review, J. M. severely criticised my own criticism in the January number on the subject of whipping in Indian Jails and especially the whipping of Europeans. The matter will be clearer if I group my replies under these headings.

1. Whipping as a Jail Punishment in general.
2. Whipping as a Jail Punishment in India.
3. Whipping as a Jail Punishment for Europeans in India.

First then, with regard to the general question of Whipping as a Jail Punishment it must be remembered that in spite of the publicity of Government Reports and the visits of "independent laymen," the conditions under which whipping may be administered in jail are not understood by the public. My original remarks were suggested by the Punjab Reports, but as J. M. wishes Bengal Jails to be discussed, I will quote from the Bengal Jail code, Chap. 18, Rule 587. "Whipping shall only be awarded for very serious offences." Now in chapter 18, Rule 567, Jail offences are divided into I—Serious Offences, II—Offences which may be "Serious" or "Minor" according to the circumstances of the case, and III—Minor Offences. Punishments are in Rule 567 divided into Minor and Major—the Major Punishments are placed in an ascending scale beginning with hard labour and forfeiture of marks, rising through fetters and separate confinement to penal diet, and ending as a climax with whipping—Now Rule 569 goes on to say that minor punishments are for minor offences and major punishments for major offences—but that the frequent or aggravated commission of minor offences may be met by a major punishment. This is a humane code. Will it be believed by a sane public that the possession of tobacco is an offence which may be regarded as major according to the caprice of the Superintendent, and that as a matter of fact it is frequently punished by flogging on the third occasion of detection?

J. M. quotes an ex-convict's remarks as to the necessity of whipping as a deterrent from brutal assaults on warders—we wonder by the way if J. M. would quote as readily the remarks of any former prisoner if they should chance to contradict the received opinions of Jail Authorities. That everything is not perfect in English Jails might be shown by extracts from the recent book "Penal Servitude" by another ex-convict,

Lord William Neville; even English prisons have not entirely emerged from the Dark Ages and such persons as corrupt and inefficient jail officials do still exist.

With regard however to the question of whipping as a deterrent from violent crimes, one may remark that if it is such a "small schoolboy's allowance" as J. M. would lead us to suppose, and if, "for several years no prisoner has been admitted to Hospital after corporal punishment in Bengal," the whipping can hardly act as a deterrent except from the shame of it, which shame only exists before the first punishment. On the other hand, if severe enough to be a deterrent it is inhuman to require the victim to work and in that case he ought to be admitted to Hospital. It is a question whether it is not in accord with the human nature which even jail officials possess, to keep such cases out of Hospital to avoid swelling a disagreeable record. It is curious that the Bengal and Punjab experiences should differ so greatly. Let me quote the Punjab Report for 1901.

Extracts from the Punjab Jail Report for 1901, Chapter III. pp. 6—8.

"The number of whippings fell from 200 in 1900 to 168 in 1901. This decrease is satisfactory but still the cane has been used in some cases without sufficient justification. In 11 cases the punishment directly or indirectly caused illness. Among the central Jails the ratio of whipping to all other punishments was highest at Mooltan. In the Montgomery Central Jail, this punishment was used 17 times as against 53 times in 1900. In several jails not a single prisoner was flogged—Lieutenant Colonel Little in his management of the Rawalpindi Jail did not find it necessary to have recourse to the punishment, notwithstanding that he had to deal with an average population of 646 convicts drawn from the turbulent inhabitants of the Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts. It is to be hoped that the example shown by this experienced officer will not be without its effect on other Superintendents."

"In a circular dated 4th October 1901, I explained how the punishment should be inflicted hoping it would be found possible to avoid mutilation of persons subjected to it, without impairing its effectiveness as a deterrent. I regret to say my instructions have not fulfilled the object with which they were issued, in as much as in several cases in which whipping was used, illness has been caused—in one case such serious sloughing of the back ensued as to entail a residence of 75 days in Hospital. In this instance, as well as in two other in the same Jail, the injuries are ascribed by the

Superintendent to the excessive thickness of the cane prescribed by the law"

Extract from the Punjab Jail Report for 1902.

"The number of whippings inflicted in 1902 was 103 only as compared with 168 in the previous year. Ill effects followed the whippings in 3 cases. The Inspector-General of Prisons has continued to give his attention to the unnecessary use of fetters but the use of fetters has decreased very little in spite of the decrease in the average number of prisoners. In order to obtain a just appreciation of the manner in which punishments are awarded, it is a consideration whether the statistics should not classify the prisoners punished according to the number of punishments awarded to each."

We have more than a suspicion that if this were done it would be found how little is the deterrent effect of whipping or fetters after the first use of them: we have heard of good authority of a man who died in Jail and who had had in all 600 lashes. As 30 is the maximum which can be given at one time, this man must have had at least 20 whippings. For this reason we dissent from the view of the Inspector-General of Prisons, Punjab (Lieut.-Colonel Bate, I, M. S.) that "in the case of obstinate offenders it is especially necessary to enforce the regulations persistently and regularly." We have read of a certain traveller whom the sun compelled to take off a cloak of which the most boisterous wind had been unable to strip him. We have ourselves come across cases of refractory persons in workhouses at home, who were alternately in the padded room, the refractory ward, or charged before the Magistrate for violence, whom a little human kindness has completely altered. The prisoner mentioned above as having received at different times 600 lashes died bequeathing his sole worldly goods—4 annas—to a European convict official who had been kind to him.

On the other hand Lieut.-Colonel Bate takes a very different view from the ex-convict whom J. M. quotes with suppressed satisfaction on the subject of the necessity of retaining flogging if a convict prison is to be managed at all.

"The great majority of prisoners whipped belong to the habitual class. I have stated my opinion about this punishment so often that I will confine myself to saying that, although Superintendents are properly empowered to use it, it is seldom necessary to award it; indeed, speaking generally, it would seem that the more experience an officer gains in jail management the less ready he is to have recourse to it. This view is I am glad to say, shared by some of the most thoughtful Superintendents in this province; the punishment was not once used in 13 jails."

Lieut.-Colonel Bate is further advanced in his opinion that "could the mark system be worked in conjunction with the bestowal of immediate benefits in the shape of creature comforts its influence might be enhanced a hundred fold. It has always appeared to me that the value attaching to the mark system as an incentive to good conduct and industry by stimulating the better feelings of the prisoners, might be sacrificed by using it too freely for punitive purposes. Flogging as a jail punishment has been abolished in some countries: and the possession of tobacco is not regarded as an offence at all. The opinion of Major Arthur Griffiths is one for which J. M. must have some respect in the matter. I give a few extracts from his article on Prison Discipline in the recent issue of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

"India still retains Association as the system most suitable for its criminal classes, with other methods generally abandoned by Great Britain, such as the employment of well-conducted prisoners as auxiliaries in prison discipline and service."

"The penal system of the United States is perhaps the most advanced and the most backward in the world. At one end are the numerous bad country gaols and the horrors of the convict lease system in the southern State, now nearly extinct; at the other end the modern and well-equipped adult reformatories, such as Elmira and Concord. The local gaol in New York "the Tombs," a house of detention for prisoners awaiting trial, is defective; dark, damp and ill-ventilated. Worst of all is the hideous system of keeping two or three men in a cell, a means of indescribable torture to a decent man and prolific source of vice and crime to a criminal. Some of the prisons are built on the best lines with large comfortable cells and abundance of light and air. (One may ask what are the hot weather arrangements for European prisoners, especially long-term ones, in India? Are they even given upstairs cells?) The earnest desire of most prison administrations is to develop industrial training and trade profits side by side with mild treatment. The latter sometimes lapses into methods which are not usually thought compatible with prison discipline, such as the permission to play on musical instruments, the holding of concerts, the permission to chew and smoke tobacco, of receiving baskets of provisions, novels, and newspapers from friends outside." "At the Elmira Adult Reformatory . . . each inmate attends school three evenings a week. The men receive definite wages out of which they pay fines. The discipline and daily life are largely of a military character. The men are organized in to a regiment, are thoroughly drilled and dress parade is held daily. *Flogging has been abolished.*"

It may be urged that such treatment, though possibly a dissuasive from prison crimes, is not deterrent from crime outside. Major Arthur Griffiths (formerly H. M. Inspector of Prisons) shows from the statistics of different countries how doubtful it is whether the severity or otherwise of prison discipline has any effect at all on the criminality of a country. "In France crime in its most serious forms, murder, parricide, poisoning, has increased by leaps and bounds though strict cellular confinement is enforced and transportation to the ends of the earth is practised, a grievous punishment for a people is markedly attached to the soil.

There is the same increase in the United States, in spite of its mild reformatory systems. On the other hand in Belgium a steady diminution is noted in the numbers committed to prison in which that most irksome of all restraints, unbroken solitude for years, is inflicted. In Great Britain the whole tendency of legislation and administration has been towards leniency, and a steady decrease in crime has long been in progress."

We may quote further from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* article on Tortures.

"Crucifixion as a punishment was abolished by Constantine in veneration of Him who was crucified for mankind," (one wonders that scourging has not been abolished by Christian nations for the same reason.) "Scourging was in the Roman Empire inflicted only on slaves; free men were exempt by the *Lex Porcia* and *Lex Valeria* except in few cases such as adultery." "Torture as part of the punishment existed in fact if not in name down to a very recent period. Burning in the hand for felony was only abolished in George III's reign." Why is whipping alone retained of all the mediæval tortures, perhaps J. M. in his zeal against hysteria would fain revert to the rack and the stake? These are indeed "time honoured," or shall we say "time dishonoured"?

Secondly, with regard to whipping as a Jail Punishment in India, something is to be said for retaining it for natives of Eastern countries even though it has been practically abandoned in the Army and has much decreased in use or ceased altogether both judicially and as a Jail Punishment in most American and European States. Our experience of our native servants is that they are in many ways mere children and frequently they express an opinion that they would rather be beaten than fined. A blow, except in fair fight, is the last insult to a man servant, at home—The quotation I gave in the January number from the District Magistrate of Ferozepore bears out my remark that the Indian native frequently prefers whipping to being fined. Even with regard to natives, however, the immense difficulty of

arriving at truth in the East (was it not a Roman Judge in the East who said bitterly "what is truth?") Should be remembered before inflicting the climax of the major punishments. Both the Punjab Report quoted above and the recent Assam Report show that excesses have occurred in this matter of flogging and rule 589 of the Bengal Jail Code recognises the danger of excess by officials grown callous by use by providing that where in any jail the number of prisoners punished with whipping during a quarter exceeds 3 per cent. of the daily average population for that quarter, a special report of each case shall be made to the Inspector General.

With regard to the publicity of Government Reports urged by J. M. as a sufficient safe guard in the matter of jail-abuses, it may be pointed out how extremely difficult it is to track out this matter fully in Government Reports. For instance in the Bengal Jail Reports for 1900 and 1901 there is no heading for "Injuries after flogging" in the list of diseases and it is only after searching that a remark is found that no prisoner was admitted to Hospital in those years for injuries after flogging. In the same Report there is a column for Jail offences, with a sub-column for the possession of prohibited articles; there is also a column for punishment inflicted by the Superintendent. But in neither Bengal nor the United Provinces Reports can it be seen for what offences floggings were administered. We believe if such a column were insisted on it would be shown in many jails that the majority of floggings are given not for assaults or immoralities but for matters which are not sins or crimes or vices in the ordinary sense of the words and moreover for the possession of articles which do not tend to facilitate escape or suicide but are so natural and human as an inch of tobacco. To my mind, it tends to increase temptation to serious and real crime if a man feels that he has already incurred the major punishments for such a trivial matter as the possession of tobacco.

Thirdly comes the question of the whipping of Europeans in Indian Jails, the main theme of my original remarks. I may point out that J. M.'s own statement that "special statistics regarding pure-blooded Europeans committed to prison cannot be attained" is slightly at variance with his other statement that "the Government Reports are so complete and contain such a mine of information, that it would be difficult to imagine any detail, however trivial, that has not been given to the world." I have pointed out earlier in my rejoinder that there are other matters such as the proportion of floggings given for the possession of tobacco that are not given to the world in these Reports—J.M. presumes that I was writing of Europeans in the jail sense of the word, as a matter of fact

I was not, as my reference to the effect of climate here as compared with England, might have shown. I stated that one reason why Europeans should not be submitted to this last disgrace was that "for reasons of economy one prisoner" (and especially a European prisoner where he can be had) "is put in a position to control other prisoners and so to arouse their evil passions." J. M. misses my point when he replies "Europeans are guarded from unlocking to locking up by paid European warders, and are practically never brought in contact with native convict officials." My point is that the European is probably made a convict official himself and as such has to control native prisoners, who can, it is well-known be bought by any official or prisoner and for an inch of tobacco will bring any false accusation against a convict who may have upset any other official, paid or convict, or fellow prisoner. Moreover J.M.'s own statement leaves room for the deduction that during locking up time Europeans are guarded by native officials, even convicts, a deduction borne out by the chapter "On guarding" in the Bengal Jail Code and some accusations at least are as easily framed by night as by day.—It is nothing to the purpose that J.M. states that during the nineteen years preceding 1902 there were 34 cases of corporal punishment among Europeans.—It is not "hysteria" to say that one case of undeserved flogging of a pure-blooded European, through the false evidence of native prisoners, and quite possibly to cover a guilty party, whether official or prisoner, should be enough to abolish the possibility of such a thing occurring again. The fact that British Sailors form a fair proportion of the pure-blooded Europeans imprisoned in India should give the subject a special claim to consideration. Other Europeans for the most part definitely voluntarily choose India as a place of residence for their own gain: these are brought out here in the course of duty. Well conducted men as a rule do not end in prison but sailors are under very specially hard conditions in India and the manliness of their calling must render prison an especially hard discipline for them, whilst their usual ignorance of the language renders them especially liable to suffer from the wily Oriental.—Moreover flogging is regarded by Jack as the last disgrace and it is notorious that in both Army and Navy flogging is the ruin of a man. Sailors perhaps deserve special consideration, as they often have to commit nominal crimes in order to obtain their discharge from a ship with possibly tyrannical officers or bad food.

It is not so very long ago that an outcry, against public executions, the use of the thumb screw to extort evidence, or the public flogging of women would have been considered

"hysterical." We believe that because flogging is a "time honoured institution," the flogging of women has died hard in the Southern States of North America, even if it is completely dead at this day. We are pleased to hear that criminals must be treated as children. Is J.M. as keen to procure for criminals the "play" without which all work makes Jack a dull boy? Are there schools for Europeans in Indian prisons? are the chapel services all they might be? are there any of the attempts made to brighten the life of the casual offender which are a marked feature of some American prisons? and is every care taken to treat the offender who verges on the imbecile more as a patient in a lunatic asylum is treated? why is an educated prisoner put on a level with the man who can hardly read and only allowed one book a week? Are these books worth reading or sufficiently often renewed for the sake of long term prisoners? Is the diet of Europeans arranged with any idea of humanity, or is the 10-year prisoner condemned to the same monotony as the three months prisoner? By all means treat prisoners as children, but children require something else besides the rod, though that seems to be J.M.'s chief idea (judging from his article) as regards their training. One of the advantages that might have been hoped for by the appointment of medical men as Jail Superintendents is that they at least might have been expected to realize that a dull monotonous life predisposes men to the very vices which J.M. notes as so prevalent in and out of Jail. The very difficulty of detection which J.M. himself acknowledges should make a Medical Superintendent of a Jail more ready to treat such difficulties by providing distractions rather by than punishing especially by flogging on what is pretty sure to be mostly conjecture or false evidence.

By the way, J.M. gives the numbers of floggings of Europeans for the years preceeding 1992. As this question is being taken up by Government Reports which are always a little belated, it would have been interesting if J. M. had told us whether floggings increased or decreased in any particular Bengal Jail he is acquainted with in 1902. My remarks will not have been wasted if they call the attention of visiting justices to some of the matters that ought to be enquired into: for the worst of "independent laymen" is that with all the will in the world, they often do not know the regulations of the intricate code they have to administer, nor the ins and outs of prison life. For instance, they might inspect one meal and find it eatable; would they approve of this meal if they found it served every day or every second day for years? Would it not be possible for instance for even convicts to have some idea of the provisions of the humane code for their

protection? It should always be remembered that the position of authority over human beings deprived of intellect or of liberty is very apt to be abused, human nature being what it is. J.M. questions my remark that Europeans cannot be found to undertake such work as flogging of other Europeans in Indian Jails. We can only say, that if such can be found they must be driven to it by almost supernal ideas of duty (!), or by sheer incapacity to find other employment, or by a brutal and callous nature which should render them the especial objects of suspicion to "independent laymen" and Jail Superintendents alike. Many of the best men of the Indian Medical Service regard their Jail work as incompatible with the merciful and indeed with the scientific traditions of their profession. I should myself think twice before calling in to attend my family a man who had been engaged in ordering and witnessing floggings and superintending executions. When, however, one meets a Superintendent or Inspector-General of prisons who brings a kindly heart in conjunction with the deep knowledge of human nature which one expects from a medical man, to bear on his work, the disadvantage to the public from the point of view of private medical attendance is compensated for by the advantage to the public of a system of Jail Management likely to reform the prisoner and curtail the length of time he lives at public expense. Such a kindly heart and knowledge of human nature is displayed in the remarks quoted above from Lieut-Col. Bate's report: We hardly think they are equally in evidence in J. M.'s remarks.

YOUR REVIEWER.

ART VII.—THE IDEALS OF THE INDIAN ARISTOCRACY.

THE Indian Aristocracy may be divided into three definite divisions. The first is the Aristocracy of Learning; the second the Aristocracy of Wealth; and, the third the Aristocracy of Ancient Heritage.

The Aristocracy of Learning has ever been predominant in India. The members of this class may be compared with the Lords Spiritual of the English Aristocracy. Though the majority of this class is poor, it exacts respect and exercises a useful restraint on the progressive section of Society. It may be said to represent the conservative section in it. Its ideal is to follow duty for its own sake and to keep up ancient models. The poverty of this class or its disregard of wealth has ever been a favourite theme of the Indian poets. The real function of this class is being overlooked in modern times and it is being ill-used. In order to enable it to fully discharge its real duties, its status should be raised to its proper heights—this should be the aim of the Indian Statesman.

The second division, the Aristocracy of Wealth, nearly merges into the third and the last, adding to their wealth, the hallowing influence of time. The members of this class gradually pass into the third. The only two Baronets of India are a conspicuous example of this statement. This stage, however, is peculiarly transitory. With this class, the fear of reverting to the crowd or the hope of advancing to the higher stage is ever present. It is conceivable that except for the step taken by Government in conferring a Baronetcy upon Sir Jamshetji Jeejibhai, his name would have been perpetuated only by his philanthropic deeds. The institution of such a hereditary dignity, as the English Baronetcy, is a crying need in India.

Too much solicitude cannot be shown in the interest of the third, and perhaps, the highest class of the Indian Aristocracy. In every country this division is honoured and in none more genuinely than in England. There are special privileges attached to this class and although some of them appear to be antiquated, they are not only cherished, but jealously guarded. The trial of the bigamous Earl Russell is an instance in point.

The levelling influences of the British administration, have obliterated the land marks of the many privileges that the Indian Aristocracy possessed. In Native states these are acknowledged, but the former influence has so far affected

them, that these are honoured more in their breach than in their observance. When the rights of Native rulers, secured to them by treaties, made under different circumstances, are being submitted to new interpretations in consonance with modern times and ideas; the interests of the more numerous though less fortunate members of this class may at least deserve a consideration.

The memorable speech, which Lord Curzon delivered during his first visit to Jeypore and which marks the culmination of the transition in which the Native States had found themselves since the beginning of the 19th century, holds out a high ideal before the Indian chiefs. The transposition from the autocracy of unbridled kingdoms to the limited functions equal to those held by the officers of a regulated Empire, is a trying though necessary situation. The great pro-consul has, in an important case, which need not be named, exemplified his precept by practice. The inevitability of such a conclusion is apparent.

During the last few years three Native chiefs have come to grief for misbehaviour and have been dealt with in three different ways. One was deported to British India, after a departmental inquiry was held into his conduct by the head of the local administration. The other was summarily dismissed and confined within a fortress in his own territory. And the third was degraded after a public investigation by a Commission appointed by the Supreme Government.

Both the expediency and the morality of this last measure have been hotly called into question. The inclusion of a peer among the Judges would have eliminated all cause of complaint, perhaps the experience of such a mixed commission which sat to judge upon the conduct of a distinguished chief was not encouraging.

An interesting experiment was being made on a Native State of no insignificance. As in the English constitution, to a certain degree, the chief ruled there, but did not govern. The attempt to introduce the principles of a limited monarchy in the government of a Native State had met with unusual success. But the attempt to introduce in its affairs, the cumbrous machinery required for the Government of an Empire, is bound to end in failure. It will create decentralisation of authority, where centralisation is everything, and result in the diffusion of responsibility, where it ought to centre in one individual. There should be one responsible person in the administration, and in fair or foul weather he should be supported by the representative of the paramount power. If he does not deserve confidence, he can be replaced; but any weakening of his authority would lead to disastrous results.

Recently the novel and interesting feature in the above arrangement has been given up. But the withdrawal of the chief has been effected in a manner, which, though it is a graphic illustration of the present status of the Indian chiefs, is at best an equivocal precedent.

These latest instances, moreover, are indications of the resolve of the British Government to gradually incorporate the rulers of the Native states into the governing machinery of the mighty Empire, over which the sun never sets. The declaration, for the first time, by an important Minister of State that the King-Emperor is the Lord-Paramount of India, and the suggestion made by a "Divan," in a well-known English periodical, to make the Native States, Dukes and Earls of the realm, indicate the present tendencies of the times.

The late Raja Sir T. Madhavrao, in an unpublished work of his, succinctly and cogently views the position of the British Government in this respect. He states that the British Government says to each Native Prince. "Formerly if you grossly mal-administered your territories, a natural remedy came into operation, namely, your subjects rose in rebellion and put an end to the tyranny. The fear of such a contingency acted as a check upon misgovernment, but now we do not, and we should not permit, the violent remedy of rebellion on the part of your people. We have undertaken to put down any such rebellion by employing our military force, whenever necessary. We have thus deprived the people of the power of correcting tyranny. But tyranny must be corrected. Who is to correct it? We, the Paramount Power in India, have undertaken this duty on behalf of the people. When, therefore, the people complain of gross misgovernment in a Native State, we, the British Government, will enquire into the matter and set it right. If found necessary, we, the British Government, will even depose the misgoverning Prince, and place another on the Gadi of the State." Clearly an undue reliance on antiquated treaties is misplaced.

Whenever, therefore, the British Government feels itself constrained to interfere in the affairs of a Native State, care should be taken to restore the *status quo*, once the anomaly is removed, local materials ought to be utilised by all means, and failing these, only then recourse may be had to outside talent. All attempts at sudden reform ought to be curbed. Conceding that experience is a great thing, education cannot be trifled with, educated men should be studiously and freely encouraged. As in the British service, educated men should be gradually trained for the work of responsibility, rather than the old men retained in or restored to their former places.

The inclusion of the servants of the British Government who belong to the subordinate service, in the administration of the Native States is productive of little good. The bringing in of experienced civil servants from the higher ranks would, however, have a far different result. The latter alone know the true principles of Government and reform. 'Noting the natural drawbacks of the former, the able Native Statesman, already quoted, observes" they (the Native British servants) are, generally speaking, a little too regular and technical, at least in the beginning of their service in the Native States. I mean that they are guided more by rules than by principles. In other words, they are somewhat defective in that elasticity which the circumstances of the Native States require.

"Also, generally speaking, they are imperfect in the qualities of statesmanship, for the simple reason that, in the British service they fill very subordinate posts, that they do not rise to those higher positions which necessitate the acquisition and exercise of those qualities. In the vast and complex machinery of the Imperial Government they turn some distant wheel with mechanical regularity without learning—without having to learn—all about the machine *as a whole*, and as composed of parts all dependant on one another, and each contributing its share to the fulfillment of the common purpose."

An innovation which is not only repugnant to the traditions and customs of conservative India, but to those of rationalistic England as well, has been quietly introduced in the succession of a small Native State. Even to this day the provision that none but a "Protestant" should succeed to the kingdom of England is jealously guarded, but in the Native State in question a convert to Mahomedanism has been made to succeed to a long line of Rajput Hindu Chiefs. Such a step deserves condemnation on moral and political grounds alike.

The conference convened by Lord Curzon in January 1902, to discuss the provision made for the education of Indian chiefs and nobles, was a step in the right direction. The occasion evoked various suggestions from unexpected quarters to which the Government must have given its due consideration. Now it is high time that the result arrived at was made public. The ideal should be to give to the pupils of these institutions a general grounding in the literary education of the highest kind and no money should be spared to accomplish this end. Let all the Chief's Colleges be concentrated in one centre and let these form a model University in India. The cry of want of funds raised in the case of the other Indian Universities need not and should not be allowed to stand in the way of this.

Lord Curzon's name in the heart of the Indian aristocracy. It has re-opened a legitimate career to the scions of noble houses. The inclusion of ruling chiefs in it is beside its purpose and ought to be discouraged. The latter should have other ambitions. In 1876 the late Raja Sir Dinkarrao wrote and submitted a pamphlet for the consideration of the Government of India. It contained a number of recommendations on administrative matters. One of the same was that from among such of the chiefs as had natural talent, received sound education and had been conducting their administrations in an approved manner, a number every two years should be appointed members of the Supreme Legislative Council. He hoped thereby that not only those who have had this honour will be benefitted by their experience, but the Government will also learn the sentiments and opinions of the people subject to a different form of administration. It was perhaps owing to this suggestion that the year following a new honour, that of the Councillors of the Empress was conferred on some leading Native Rulers. But it proved an empty honour, which has not been revived and which appears to have been now regarded as superfluous.

Not only that a selected number of the chiefs should sit on the Legislative Council, but, when any measure of universal application is to be passed the opinions of all the chiefs may be collected and given due weight. In addition to the Chiefs, members of noble families may also be asked to assist in the Legislative Councils. Formerly, before the so-called expansion of these councils, really representative men from this class used to be nominated members, but under present circumstances men of quite a different type crowd the legislative chamber. Occasionally a man from the Native States is appointed, but such occurrences should be more numerous than they are at present.

The abandonment of the statutory Civil Service has been harmful to the cause of the Indian Nobility. Its institution had opened to them an honourable and legitimate career, in the absence of which, those who have fallen in their state and have to earn their bread, are obliged to enter the subordinate ranks of the Government service. On the other hand, those whose position in society prevents them accepting an inferior position are not only lost to the service of the Government, but owing to poverty and other causes find it increasingly difficult to maintain their position and gradually sink into insignificance. A natural help from the Government, such as was given by this measure, sustains them in the struggle for existence constantly going on around them. It also encouraged them to acquire modern accomplishments.

In the absence of any such inducement, they become indolent and a burden to their country. The Government may have been deceived in the appointment of certain persons, who may have belied its confidence, but that is no reason why such a beneficent measure should be abandoned. It is undoubtedly an argument for becoming more cautious and circumspect in future selections, the re-opening of this opportunity is an urgent necessity.

Another career, which might be opened to the members of the Indian Nobility, consists in attaching them to the Embassies and consulates of the British Empire, all over the world. There will be few in the beginning who will accept these posts, but in the course of time, they will not fail to become popular. Their residence in foreign countries will give them much useful training and experience, and on their return home they will become centres, diffusing knowledge and enlightenment. Their experience with the Ambassadors and Consuls will not fail to be helpful to such of their countrymen as may visit those countries. These Indian representatives will also watch how the interests of India can be advanced both commercially and industrially.

The sending of the representatives of the chiefs and nobles to attend the coronation in London was a commendable step. The absence of the representative nobles from Rajputana and Central India is to be regretted. Unfortunately no greater attention was paid to this fact at the great function at Delhi. Indeed these two provinces always receive but scanty attention from the Government of India. Since the days of the late Raja Sir Dinkarrao no nobleman from Central India has been in the supreme Legislative Council.

Apart from the so-called ruling chiefs the status of the remaining aristocracy, in most of the Native States and British India, needs definition. The consideration and regard shown to the high birth of Lord Russell stands in great contrast to the alleged outrage committed on the sacred person of the Raja of Puri; the troubles to which a respectable Zamindar of Muzzafarnagar was put by a rash District Superintendent of Police; and the fate to which a grandson, (who was also a retired Deputy Collector in the United Provinces), of a distinguished benefactor of the British Government would have been relegated, but for the kindly intervention of and the clemency shown by the Allahabad High Court,—and these are not isolated instances.

As in England, so in India, the aristocracy has its past, has its use to the Government and therefore demands some equitable privileges for its protection and preservation. To avoid confusion, lists of the existing aristocratic families

can be made. Excellent material for Rajputana and a fine model for the rest of India already exists in "Chiefs and leading Families of Rajputana" by the Hon'ble Mr. C. S. Bayley, C.S.I. (Government of India Press, 1903).

The steps taken by the Baroda Durbar on behalf of its aristocracy, under the guidance of the late Raja Sir T. Madhavarao, may be recommended as a model to be followed with advantage. The then Resident at Baroda, Mr. Melvill, C.S.I., delineates them thus: "The Sardars and certain of the superior bankers and Darakdars heretofore refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the ordinary Civil and Criminal Courts of the State whether in regard to themselves or their dependents and servants. They owned the authority only of a Court presided over by a Bakshi, or military paymaster, and they claimed a right of appeal to the Maharaja, or latterly to the Minister, in all cases in which they were a party, whether as complainant or defendant. Such a state of things it was obviously impossible to continue. Accordingly Sir Madhavrao consulted the Agent to the Governor-General about the establishment of a special Court for persons of the above classes, for it was felt that such a Court was requisite in order to save the higher classes, who are generally deeply involved in debt, from the harshness inseparable from the action of the ordinary Civil Courts, and also because it was known that the persons belonging to these classes would not readily submit to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts. The Court so constituted is formed of a qualified Judge, appointed by the State, of the Shibdar and Shibandi Bakshis, one Sirdar and one Darakdar. A bench consists of the Judge, with any one of the other four members of the Court. The Court is to exercise jurisdiction over Sirdars and other people of position in all Civil and Criminal proceedings which are brought *against* those persons but not in cases *brought* by them against others who do not belong to the same class. The Court has power to pass a sentence of imprisonment in criminal cases up to seven years. The ordinary law and procedure of the established Courts are to be followed with certain exceptions. Thus the personal attendance of a party or witness belonging to the privileged classes aforesaid may be dispensed with, if such party or witness objects to attend; and if the Court considers his attendance necessary, the matter is to be referred through the Varisht (High) Court for the orders of the Minister. Again, the Court may refer any case to any person with whom the defendant is officially connected, or to any other person, for amicable settlement; and if such settlement is made, the Court may pass a decree or order in the terms thereof, the head of the castes of the defendants are also to be consulted

when necessary. When the members of the Court differ in opinion, the case is to be sent for the orders of the High Court. Appeals and references lie to the High Court, and the orders of the High Court are subject to revision by the Minister. The processes of the Court are to be executed by the ordinary police or judicial establishments of the State when they are issued to persons not on the list of Sirdars, etc.; but all communications by the Court to persons on the list are sent in the form of a sealed letter. The defendants and menials of the privileged classes are declared to be subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts, but processes issued by any Court to or against such persons are to be presented for execution to their masters. The Minister's previous sanction is to be obtained, through the High Court, to the arrest of any defendant subject to the jurisdiction of the Sirdar's court, and to the sale of any of his property in execution of a decree."

The introduction of any such measure in any Native State would not be attended with complications. In British India lists should be made of such persons living under the control of a divisional Commissioner, who should have preliminary jurisdiction over the privileged persons. An appeal from him should lie to the provincial Governor. Such a consideration shown to the aristocracy will deepen the roots of the British Indian Empire.

The Hindu law of inheritance has come to be more socialistic than the extremist in the cult of the advocates of liberty, equality and fraternity would wish. In early times when the patriarchal system prevailed, partition was unknown. The father, and after him the eldest brother had supreme power over the family. Even the Code of Manu says "the elder brother may take entire possession of the patrimony and the others may live under him, as they lived under their father (ix, 105)." And again "the seniority ordained by law is according to birth (ix, 125)."

When, owing to change of circumstances families began to separate, the claim of the former chief was recognised by the grant of a larger share to him. Yadnavalkya, as quoted by Mr. Brandreth in his erudite treatise on the law of adoption in Rajaputana, says "the elder son should receive the largest share."

So also, by their valour and patriotism, the Rajputs have kept aloof from foreign influences and have stuck to old customs. Referring to the practice among the Rajputs Mr. Brandreth says "the law of primogeniture,..... prevails throughout Rajputana; the eldest son must be considered the heir to the whole estate..... It is true that some provision must be made for younger sons; certain appenages must be

assigned them, according to the capability of the estate, but the amount of these depends upon the will of the owner, and I do not know that they would claim more than would be sufficient to keep them in food and clothes."

Owing possibly to an imperfect acquaintance with Hindu Law and Society, the British Government has not been happy in its actions regarding the inheritance and partition question, and its action has greatly influenced the mediocre administrators of Native states, who have given up more solid and sounder practices. Excepting the so-called chiefs, who are governed by political dictums, all have been indiscriminately submitted to the levelling provisions of the Hindu Law. The pronouncements of the Privy Council have also, if possible, made matters more confusing.

The Government of the Bombay Presidency alone, inheriting territories and wisdom, from the Maratha Government, has kept, in some measure, its head cool and has extended a helping hand to the otherwise helpless aristocracy of the late Government. Although it has made too minute a distinction between the Saranjami Jahagirdars and Tuami landholders, and although in cases like that of the Vinchoor Jahagirdar, the rule has been honoured in its breach, yet its adherence to the law of primogeniture and impartibility has saved many a family from inevitable extinction.

A recent decision of the Secretary of State in a Bombay case may be highly commended as a model for future guidance. The Potnis family, the present representative of which, sirdar Bhidrao Madhav, was honoured by the grant of a jagir of Rs. 3,000 annually for life, at the last Delhi Darbar,—is a very old one. Their ancestors were originally in the service of the Bijapur kingdom, in the Deccan. In the days of the Marathas they rendered services to Shivaji, Rajaram and Shahu. A Saranjam (jagir) was granted to them in the time of Shahu. Much of it, however, was, confiscated by Bajirao and a part, worth about Rs. 7,000, having been divided amongst the branches of the family for some generations, was declared to be a divisible one by the High Court of Bombay. But as Saranjams have been declared to be, and are, indivisible, the Government considered the decision to be erroneous. Consequently it was not given effect to, and gave rise to protracted dispute between Sirdar Bhidrao, the chief of the most senior branch on the one hand, and the junior members, on the other. At last the Secretary of State decided that the whole Saranjam ought to entail upon the most senior representative of the most senior branch, but as it had been divided, long since, the portions divided should revert to him on the demise of each individual holder. This

took place in 1896. Sirdar Bhidrao represented that if the Saranjam were indivisible, it should forthwith, wholly entail on him, or that the divisions already effected should be kept up. But the Government, doubtless on grounds of equity and common sense, rejected the representation.

Not that the Government of India has remained insensible to this great danger threatening the extinction of the Indian Aristocracy. As early as the 12th March 1862, a Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council "to provide for the succession to and the rights in respect of certain *Tālūqas* and granted estates in Oudh and for the jurisdiction of the Courts of that Province relating to land." The subject however was dropped, but again on the 17th July 1867 it was taken up, when Mr. (afterwards Sir C.) Strachey introduced another Bill, the object of which was "to define the rights of Taluqdars and others in certain estates in Oudh and to regulate the succession thereto." This Bill subsequently became Act I of 1869, but it is not perfect. The recent two provisional Impartible Estates Act in Madras and the larger one, shortly promised, show that the earnest attention of the Government has at last been drawn to this vital subject. It is to be hoped that this tendency of the times will penetrate into the Native States too. The Government of India and the misguided Native States can do worse than apply the English law of inheritance to the Indian Aristocracy.

ONE OF THE CLASS.

ART. VIII.—THE ERUKALAS.

THE Erukalas are a wandering tribe numbering, according to the last census 65,513 and found living in moveable huts of bamboo or palm leaves, measuring six cubits by three, in Telegu districts. A shade darker than the people around them, they are marked by well cut features and a supple and wiry frame.

Some trade in salt, and are called after the article they trade in; others sell certain dry leaves, (*Murraya Exotica*) and hanging receptacles of rope to put pots of curd and ghee in. It is these that subsist also by theft. A third class, called after their special work, furnish brushes for weavers, and women of this class stay no more than three days in a village and live solely by soothsaying: what the gentle art may owe to the rule of three days in a village, is not hard to guess.

Ordinarily the men breed pigs and asses, make baskets, sell sheep and goat skins. The women, when they are not basket making, tell fortunes equipped with a winnow, and a string of cowries representing their family goddess winnow away all the harder facts and fears bred of them,—introducing in their place, soothing fancies in the troubled bosoms of their sisters who have been, perhaps, many times mothers.

The men, except of the section trading in salt (Upper Erukalas) wear no clothes except a narrow strip 6 cubits long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad which hangs from the waist. It is specially woven for their use and colored dark-red except in the case of the brush-making Erukalas, when it is white. They have in addition a cloth-belt (*kāsi-kōka*) of the same color. This statement does not include a head-dress which they are never without, and an upper cloth which they sometimes put on. To wear clothes like a Sudra is considered a breach of caste-etiquette, and he runs the risk of a similar aspersion if he subjects the hair of his head to the razor.

Their womankind are distinguished from others around them by the more than usually narrow border of their cloths, and the absence of the all but universal tali, in place of which they put a string of little black beads (*karimani*). Besides, the right hand of wives is reserved for brass bracelets, as the left is for clay ones, and there may be no interchange of bracelets. The widow breaks her clay bracelets.

The Erukala man and woman are favourite characters in rural theatres; their language, a modified form of Tamil, their abruptness of manner, their frequent shake of the head

at the end of every sentence, their superabundant use of the gutturals are imitated to the intense delight of the audience.

The men are married at about sixteen to girls who have attained puberty. For three days during marriage the bridegroom may wear clothes like the Sudra. He distributes to all of his relations, young and old, half a measure of rice and swine's flesh. He pays to the parents of the bride thirty-nine rupees, and will be excused the payment of seventeen rupees provided that he becomes the father of two girls. Divorces are easily obtained by the unwilling husband as well as by the unwilling wife. The erring wife will have to pay thirty-six rupees to her husband. Even the innocent wife, who for no fault of hers is given up by a self-willed husband, will not be allowed to marry again till the husband is given four annas (4 Dabbus) and a pig.

No compensation is supposed to make the erring wife acceptable again to the husband. She can however marry seven times.

After marriage, the son leaves the parental roof and establishes a home for himself. The grown-up son will be provided with a hut, pot, sickle, cock, pig, and four measures of grain and is started in life. The Erukala worships Venkateswara and is frequently named after him; and another god named Satya furnishes a common name, but the deity of the tribe is Kūlapūri Amna whom they represent by an image made of mud and ornament with saffron, they sacrifice lambs, sheep, fowl and pigs to her. They have no priests, though Zangans assist at the funerals.

They will not eat bats, asses, buffaloes, bulls, and cats. They drink and smoke though in moderation,—and that they do not eat any variety of snakes or crows or kites, is, it is hoped, no feeble testimony to the Erukalas extreme self-control. There is a caste tribunal to which all their disputes are referred. It is a mark of distinction that the Erukala, though he often has dealings in money on no inconsiderable scale, avoids the law courts and would rather appeal to the caste tribunal. Transactions between Erukala and Erukala are not uncommonly by word of mouth, and even when reduced to writing are rarely stamped or registered.

The incredibly heavy bill of costs in litigation in the caste-courts of the Erukalas will give a sigh of relief even to the much criticised British Courts of Justice in India. Identical language and certain identical habits have led to the belief that the Erukala is essentially of the same stock as the Kurava of the Tamil districts for both talk Tamil. The names Kurava and Erukala seem to mean "soothsaying," the mark by which they are known in the several countries they live in. "Ku-

rava " is, in the language of the Erukala a synonym of sooth-saying as also the name by which one Erukala refers to another of his caste. "Eruka" is a Telegu word meaning knowledge and prophecy. The varying costs of justice in caste tribunals is a feature common to these two classes.

It may be noted that the Erukala have family names while the Kurava have none,—but the family names consist of Telegu words denoting "cradle," etc. This fact is consistent with the identity of stock, and is sufficiently explained by their long sojourn in a Telegu country.

Different habits have been contracted by each section in their adopted home, but the memory of other habits is not extinguished. The Erukala women ties no tali and the Kurava does. But the Erukalas have a tradition, that their elders who went out to bring the tali and the pipe, have not as yet returned, and that black beads do service for the tali, and the bell for the pipe.

The women of the Erukala tribe never undertake tattooing or ear-boring, whereas the Kurava women always do. Once the Erukala woman misbehaves herself she is cast away and her dereliction would not be condoned for payment of any amount.

The Erukala's gods are, besides Venkateswara, Satya and Kulapuri Amma, and the Kurava's is Subrahmanya by pre-eminence. It may be noted by the way that the Brahmin thief in the earliest Sanskrit drama mocks this god as the patron-saint of thieves.

The Erukala does not, like the Kurava, bury the dead around the hut he dwells in. He burns or buries the dead according to the means, at his disposal,—the aged are, by preference burnt.

A. SRINIVASAN.

ART. IX.—SANSKRIT LEARNING IN INDIA.

SANSKRIT has a vast literature. The works in Sanskrit greatly outnumber those in Greek and Latin put together. In a catalogue of Sanskrit MSS^s published in 1891 the number of single works amounts to 32,000 and several thousands have been brought to notice since then. With the progress of civilization not only the various Provinces of the Indian Empire but also the countries of Tibet, China, Japan, Central Asia, Mongolia, and even the backward Indo-Chinese Peninsula add to our knowledge of Sanskrit and Sanskritic Works.

This literature requires careful study, because in it are written the scriptures of three great religious systems of the world, namely, Hinduism, northern Buddhism, and Digambara Jainism, not to say anything of the scriptures of southern Buddhism and Svetambara Jainism and of the numerous religious sects of India, which are never well understood without a thorough mastery of the Sanskrit language and its literature. Of the religious literatures written in Sanskrit proper, one is the most ancient, going back, by the lowest calculation, to the fifteenth century before Christ, and the other has the widest currency in Northern Asia. If the scriptures of a religion can give importance to a language, the importance of Sanskrit is unquestionable.

But religion is not the only subject on which Sanskrit bases its claim to importance. It has a vast scientific and a vast arts literature, taking the word arts in the widest acceptance of the term, including poetry, drama, fiction, philosophy, history, tradition, including divine, human, domestic and social law and the law of the lawyers.

As regards science, the Indians did all they could by observation and observation alone. Experiments were just dawning upon them when their country was overwhelmed by the Muhammadan conquest. In the medical science of the Hindus, in which no trace has yet been discovered of any foreign influence, more than 400 works have been traced by my friend Dr. Cordier now working at Pondichery, and Indian medical science is now a subject of admiration and study in Europe. What progress they made in Chemistry is a subject of investigation by an eminent professor of a neighbouring college. In pure Mathematics they are not only the early teachers of the world but they made eminent progress, though they have been far outstripped by modern discoveries and researches in Europe. In Astronomy they not only made

a beginning, but with the help of the Yavanas made a substantial progress and they were making steady advance when the Muhammadan conquest overtook them. They have now been left behind by the discoveries and inventions of the past four centuries in Europe. From Vrihat Sanhita and other works it appears that they made a beginning in various departments of physical science so far as observation was concerned and made many bold speculations, though they have been greatly surpassed by the Scientists of modern Europe.

The stupendous temples of Southern India, the living pictures of Bhubaneswar, and the beautiful paintings in the caves on the Godavary, show what fine progress they made in architecture, sculpture, and painting. They had their books on all these subjects. Their great progress in fine art is attested by the fact that they enumerated these arts as 64, and all these 64 had each its literature. I have seen works on dancing, acting, mimicry and so forth. Their dramaturgy had a considerable literature.

But the branches of knowledge in which they achieved great eminence are philosophy, poetry and science of language. It is generally said that the Hindus have six systems of Philosophy. But the six is a misnomer. Madhava in the fourteenth century enumerates sixteen different systems but modern research has discovered many more, each with a distinct aim, with a distinct object, and a distinct method of reasoning; the study of Hindu Philosophy has only just dawned in Europe and it is with pardonable pride that the Indian Brahmanas observe that eminent European thinkers give their philosophy the highest place in transcendental speculations of the world.

Indian poetry fired the imagination even of the greatest poet of Europe in the 19th century who, however, had seen only a very faint translation of one or two works of Sanskrit Poetry.

In linguistic speculations India always had a high place, and as soon as these speculations reached Europe it gave rise to what is called the science of language, one of the greatest achievements of Europe in the 19th century, the eminent initiators of which acknowledge their unequivocal obligation to Sanskrit.

History is the only branch of knowledge in which the Indians are said to have been deficient and the blame is considered to be well deserved. But history began to be written so far back as 610 A. D. and recent researches have brought to light many works of local and contemporary history.

Indian law books began to be written immediately after the Vedas; the oldest extant is said to have been written 1,000 years before Christ. They were at first in the aphoristic form. Then they were written in verse, in which form most

of the original law books are found. Then there were commentaries and at last came codification. It is impossible to say how many different codes were made out of the old materials. The law began to be codified as early as the ninth century and almost in every country there was a code. Some countries again changed their codes more than once; so the law codes themselves form a vast body of literature.

English education in India by introducing the advanced methods of scientific study, by initiating historical investigations, and by fostering wider acquaintance of various countries, their peoples, their sciences and their thoughts, has done a service to India the value of which cannot be overestimated. India will remain ever indebted to those eminent men who initiated the bold idea of educating the children of India in English. But in doing so they thought they were working on a *carte blanche* and took no notice of what India already possessed and so while English education received Government patronage, Sanskrit was left to the Pandits single-handed. That they have succeeded in preserving it so long is a credit to them.

But they are labouring under a great disadvantage. There are two classes of learned men now in India—The Pandits, and the University men, but they are mutually exclusive of each other. The Pandits would see nothing in University men but the destroyers of their old religious, social, and domestic order, and the University men would see nothing but unflinching upholders of old social and domestic abuses in the Pandits. Mutual sympathy is absolutely wanting. A Pandit may sometimes be an admirer of an University man or the system under which he is trained, or an University man may be an admirer of a Pandit or of the system under which he is educated, but without mutual study such admiration is a blind admiration and is often apt to work mischief.

There is only one institution in all India where such a mutual study is possible and that is the Calcutta Sanskrit College. It was started at a time when the policy was to educate Indian people in Indian classics with English as a subsidiary study, and it has fortunately survived so many educational revolutions in the Empire and is now entering the 79th year of its existence. Here Young Hindu lads begin their Sanskrit and their English at the lowest of their school classes and pass through all the University examinations up to the B.A. and through an examination system of the College and then appear at the M. A. examination in Sanskrit, and become an M.A. in Sanskrit. The college examinations are by no means easy tests and they embrace all English subjects plus several papers

in Sanskrit. There are three such tests: one in the second class of the school department; one in the first year class of the College Department; and the last in the third year class. It no doubt is a strain on the students, and it is a matter of congratulation that we get students at all. Some wonder that the Sanskrit College is not a large institution with several hundred students. But the difficulties and the strain retard many from joining it.

There are two classes of men who would gladly join it and study with eminent success, but they are unfortunately too poor, and cannot bear the cost of living in a costly city like Calcutta; namely the children of the Pandits and Vaidyas, and these are for many centuries accustomed to a subsidised education and to them to incur cost for education is a strange novelty. This College is likely to produce eminent results if there is a free hostel in which at least 50 students can be boarded and lodged.

The institution has a College and a School Department and it is affiliated to the Calcutta University, which makes no concession to the hardworking students of this institution by relaxing in their favour the hard and fast rule of having many compulsory subjects. It has an Oriental Department in which students qualify themselves for the Government Sanskrit Examinations: the Adya and Madhya and the Upadhi. There is no special allotment of professors for this department; the professors of the College lecture here too. There are 21 groups of subjects in which a Sanskrit student may get this Upadhi or title, and we have arrangements for teaching 7 of these groups, and our present Director of Public Instruction, Mr. A. Pedler, F.R.S., C.I.E., is doing his best to arrange for the teaching of a few groups more to make the Oriental Department a model Tol in this Province. We have arrangements for drill and for drawing; and the formation of a gymnasium has been proposed. We are now teaching two groups of M. A. subjects with a great strain on the professorial staff who have often to work 4 and 5 hours a day, more than this we are at present not in a position to do. A considerable portion of my time is taken up with the research scholars two in number, one of whom is studying paleography and the other investigating the Vaisnava Literature.

The principal of the Sanskrit College is also the Registrar of the Sanskrit Examinations which are conducted by the Sanskrit Professors of this College with the help of experts from *tois*, under his direct supervision and under the control of the Director of Public Instruction. The popularity of these Examinations is evinced by the fact that undergraduates

of the Calcutta University and Acharyas and Sastris of Benares and Lahore, and even the Mahavidvate of distant Mysore have begun to appear at these examinations. Last year 162 students appeared at the Upadhi Examination, of whom 62 passed, 1,024 appeared at the Madhya Examination, of whom 362 passed, and 2,643 appeared at the Adya Examination, of whom 655 passed. In these Examinations one student takes up one subject only and the taking of many subjects is unknown.

HARA PRASAD SHASTRI.

ART. X.—GENESIS OF "THE CALCUTTA REVIEW."

WHEN noticing the appearance of the new quarterly number of the *Calcutta Review*, we remarked that the *Review*, having been established in 1844, is now 58 years of age ; and we availed ourselves of the opportunity to predict for it a "prolonged and useful career." It is the vigorous offspring of Sir John Kaye, its first Editor, and its destinies have been editorially guided since that eminent historian vacated the chair by the Rev. A. Duff, Mr. W. S. Mackay, Mr. T. Smith, Dr. George Smith, Mr. Meredith Townsend, Mr. J. Newmil, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. T. Pedsal, Mr. W. Hieley, Mr. W. H. Beverley, Sir Roper Lethbridge, Mr. J. W. Furrell, Dr. MacCann, Mr. G. A. Stack, Mr. H. A. D. Phillips and Mr. A. M. Cameron, its present Editor being the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer. The first number was published in Calcutta in May, 1844, and passed through three editions. It was printed by Messrs. Sanders and Cones, and it was sold, according to the announcement on the pale brown cover, by "Messrs. Thacker, Messrs. Ostell, Messrs. Lattey and Co., and Messrs. G. C. Hay and Co., Calcutta ; Messrs. Pharaoh and Co., Madras. Messrs. Robert Frith and Co., Bombay ; Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co. Edinburgh, and Messrs. W. Curry and Co., Dublin." (The *Review* is now printed and published by the City Press, and is also sold by Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., and "all booksellers in Calcutta," by Messrs. Higginbotham and Co., in Madras, and by Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., in London.) It bore on its title-page, as all successive numbers have done, the following extract from Milton :—

"No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world ; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."

The first number opened with an "Advertisement," corresponding to the "*Apologia pro vita sua*," with which, on the 14th December, 1868, the *Madras Mail* made its first appearance. Presumably this advertisement was written by Sir John Kaye. It set out with the statement that the *Review* was "projected at the suggestion of an earnest and able friend who had been deploring the want of some such vehicle for the publication of papers of a more lengthy and elaborate character than is adapted to the columns of a daily or weekly newspaper." So "a few able and experienced writers" were consulted, and they

gave "such cheerful and kindly promises of assistance, and such assurances of the ultimate success of the undertaking" that the proprietor determined to make the venture. He refrained from giving an "elaborate Prospectus," yet he explained at some length the objects he had in view. He especially desired to awaken interest in Indian affairs, "to induce a thirst for information;" then to "supply that information;" and finally to "teach the application of it to the most beneficial uses." It seemed to him that the bane of the country was ignorance, not ignorance as "to the dark recesses of native life" so much as ignorance "in high places—among the ruling body—among the men to whom inscrutable Providence has submitted the destinies of India." He warned the readers of the *Review* to expect slight discrepancies of opinion in its pages; for it would be his object to assist them in regarding public questions from various points of view. He would hold himself responsible for the character, the principles, the purity of the intentions, and the earnest aspirations after the good of their fellows, of his associates or contributors, but he was anxious that each should express himself without restraint. The different writers might work by different roads, but towards the same goal. He was confident of "preserving general harmony of opinion," and he was "desirous of preserving nothing more."

This number contained six articles in its 256 exceedingly well printed pages, corresponding closely in appearance to those of the *Quarterly Review*. These articles dealt with the English in India, Lord Teignmouth, the earliest Protestant Mission to India, the war in China, the rural population of Bengal, and the Amirs of Sindh. The first article ran to 42 pages, and was followed by another article of 79 pages in the second number of the *Review*. The two articles contain an elaborate survey of the advance in the *morale* of Anglo-Indians during the half century previous to 1844, together with a retrospect of the bearing and conduct of Europeans before that period which is not very agreeable reading. The first article commenced as follows:—

"Not very many years have passed away since even well-informed people in England knew little more about an Anglo-Indian than that he was very rich, very yellow, and very ill-tempered; that he dwelt in a country where fevers and liver complaints were abundant, where tigers and mosquitoes preyed on the human race, where hookahs were smoked and widows burned, and curry eaten, and wealth acquired; that he left England young, healthy, and poor, and came back old, decrepit, and rich; that he spent a life of luxurious solitude and wretchedness, and brought home his ill-gotten wealth to bestow it, after a few years of isolation and discontent, upon some distant relative, or compliant friend, who had invested his patience in a profitable market, and borne with the old man's

humours to the last. These liver decayed old Indians were principally useful in bad novels and worse comedies. They appeared in the third volume, or the fourth Act, to make a virtuous maiden happy for life, or to disconcert the schemes of some unprincipled nephew (for it will be observed that in novels and comedies old Indians are always uncles), to the consummation of poetical justice and the advancement of public morals."

And this profound, general, and careless ignorance about the accuracy of the representation of "old Indians" by novelists and dramatists, was allied with a corresponding ignorance, which was more excusable, of the geography of India:—

"Little more was known than that Calcutta and Madras were somehow or other two of the principal components of India; that the climate was very hot, and very unhealthy; and that the Great Mogul, the hero of the playing cards, was one of its most magnificent potentates. Whether Madras was in Calcutta, or Calcutta in Madras, or whether they were contiguous cities, like London and Westminster; whether Tippu Sultan was the Great Mogul, or whether the Great Mogul was one of the Princesses of Oude; all these were questions which only the very knowing were competent satisfactorily to solve."

Reference was then made to a novel written in 1819, and that enjoyed some popularity in its day, wherein the heroine is said to have proceeded to Madras up the River Hooghly, while another person is described as spending his time between Calcutta and Madras as though they were as close as London and Hampstead. It is not improbable that, notwithstanding the peregrinations of the British pedagogue since 1844, the mind of the average Briton is now almost as much a blank as to the position of Calcutta and Madras in Hindustan as was the mind of his grandsires and great-grandsires. We ourselves recently at a dinner overheard a member of the British Government enquire of a lady, who had alluded to Kashmir, whether Kashmir was not a delightful town. We were tempted to marvel at this illustration of the ignorance of "the Hon'ble Member" for a Borough that we will not name; but the still, the stern voice of conscience asked us whether we ourselves, notwithstanding we had passed many a long year in India, would care to offer ourselves for examination in the geography of the Central Provinces, the Punjab, Sind and so forth.

The essayist shows how knowledge of India had been increased by the development and improvement of the means of communication between England and India—especially by that establishment of a "regular steam communication between the town countries," which has "made every Englishman and Englishwoman, in the three Presidencies, a periodical letter-writer"—as also by the taking of furlough at

comparatively short intervals. "The establishment of a regular line of Government steamers from Bombay, and of the Oriental and Peninsular Company's noble steam-ships from Calcutta, has increased still more the home-going tendency; and we not seldom find a hundred passengers embarking, in a single month, on board the *Hindustan*, or *Bentinck*." Those "noble steam-ships," built in 1842 and 1843 with a measurement of 2,017 and 1,974 tons, respectively, and each with 520 horse power, were a notable advance on the East Indiamen which had hitherto sailed so leisurely round the Cape; but they were very inconsiderable as compared with the largest vessel of the P. and O. Company's present fleet, *viz.*, the *Persia*, of 7,951 tons, 11,000 horse power, which is itself to be eclipsed next autumn by the *Moldavia*, 10,000 tons, 14,000 horse power. And it may be added that the four Mail steamers that arrive at or leave Bombay every month, are capable of accommodating rather more than 2,000 first and second class passengers between them.

One way and another, the race of "genuine old Indians"—men who had passed 30 or 40 years in India at a stretch, had become nearly extinct in 1844, or at least specimens of the "ancient flock" could only be found at the Oriental Club, in Hanover Square, or sauntering aimlessly along the streets of Cheltenham. "Ere long," therefore, "a regular, liver-diseased, parchment-faced, shivering, querulous rich old Indian, who feels himself when at Home as in a foreign land, so strange and distasteful to him are its manners and customs, will have become as rare as a mummy." On the other hand, the new race of Anglo-Indians were already "plenty (*sic*) as blackberries." Even in 1844 the Indian Officer or Civilian returning to England was "very much like the rest of the world," for "he has brushed up all his old English habits and feelings, once at least before his ultimate retirement," and he was "only a few months," on his arrival at Home, "behind the London world in his knowledge of public events, a new tariff, or a new dancer." Men from India were no longer "necessarily old, necessarily yellow, or necessarily rich." If they differed much from other members of society, it was in being "a good deal less stiff, and somewhat more liberal." They would, therefore, have been somewhat of a surprise to an "old Indian resident of 1770 or 1780" were he to have been raised from the grave. And that venerable person, had he revisited familiar haunts in India, would have been struck by the improvement in appearance of the European portion of the towns, especially of the capital, Calcutta. No longer, for example, would he have found in that metropolis an absence of glass windows in houses to exclude the hot air. But, had he come to Madras, he would

have observed that a large proportion of its houses "are deficient in this essential item of comfort." And the essayist remarks that "in Calcutta people shut up their houses, while in Madras they throw them open. In the former the chief object is to exclude the wind, the dust, and the glare; in the latter, to admit the Madrassi's boast, the delightful sea-breeze."

The remark of Mr. Forbes in his "Oriental Memoirs" is quoted, that, about the year 1790, "the English houses at Bombay are neither so large nor elegant as those at Calcutta and Madras." Similarly, the Rev. James Cordiner, describing his visit to Madras in 1798, (of which more anon) stated that the "houses are good, and are generally of two storeys high." He added:—"But few people live constantly in them; in the afternoon they are almost all empty, and the town looks quite deserted. The better sort of inhabitants at Madras may be said to live altogether in the country. Every gentleman has a villa at a little distance from the town. The ladies seldom approach the Fort; very few of them attend Divine Service there on Sunday; and the gentlemen use it only as the scene of business; they repair thither after breakfast, and return to their villas before dinner. Their conveyances are palanquins and carriages. Walking abroad is a thing unknown among Europeans." So it would appear that rather more than a century ago our predecessors had ceased to reside in the Fort and had built for themselves many of the really handsome "garden-houses" that still adorn the Mount Road, Nungumbaukum, Chetput, Kilpauk, Teynampett, the Luz and the Adyar. The "pagoda tree" still flourished in the land and our predecessors never wearied of shaking it. So, according to Mr. Cordiner, "all classes of European Society" in Madras "live sumptuously, and many individuals expend from two to ten thousand pounds each annually in maintaining their households. The economy of their tables is entrusted entirely to native servants, who load them with dishes of solid meat estimating the goodness of the dinner by the quantity which they crowd upon the board; and in most houses there is but a scanty supply of vegetables. Even rice and curry, the staple food of the country, are often omitted, probably because they are common; but they are the best and most wholesome nourishment which India affords."*

* This Paper appeared in the *Madras Weekly Mail*, and it is reprinted here, by the kind permission of the Editor.

ART. XI.—HELLENISM AND HINDUISM.

A SCIENTIFIC comparison of Hellenism and Hinduism would be a work of great interest to the world. It would however require (besides personal qualifications in the writer) time and a good library, advantages which are not available in India, and when it does appear, it will issue, I suppose, from some intellectual hive in Europe. In the meantime I offer the readers of the *Calcutta Review* a few notes or suggestions on the subject.

Our comparison will naturally begin with the physical aspect of Hellas and Hindostan. Both are sunny lands, but the sun of Hellas though not less glorious is milder than the sun of Hindostan. One however is a land of great mountains, the other a land of plains. One is small, so small that the sea is never far distant; the other many times as large, so large that to nearly all its people the sea is little more than a name. Moreover, the coast of Hellas is deeply indented, full of natural openings and harbours, while the many neighbouring islands make navigation easy; India, on the other hand, lies remote from the rest of the world and presents few hospitable openings to the stranger. Hellas is a land of great natural beauty, the same cannot be said of the plains of India, though it is true of the mountain ranges. In point of natural fertility we may on the whole count the two countries equal, though the history of Greece shows nothing parallel to the failure of the rains in India.

In what extent these natural differences have affected the characters of Greeks and Hindus, it is not here proposed to enquire. The tendency to explain character as the result of surroundings has probably been carried too far; and the subject may be left with this caution. At any rate the usual line of argument is familiar to educated people, and they will easily reply it for themselves.

Another topic that I must put aside is the ethnological comparison. Experts are still engaged, I believe, in finding out how complex this really is, and one can only wait for the time when they will be able to put before the public some substantial and intelligible results.

Let us then turn to the outward aspects of Hindu and Greek society. We must remember here, and throughout our comparison, that small as the Greek world was, what we know of it belongs chiefly to the one town of Athens; while under the term Hindu are associated peoples of somewhat different characters. In colour the Greeks were dark, pro-

bably sallow rather than brown; their features as far as I know, were more or less peculiar to themselves; they had the Grecian nose which is not common in Europe, large eyes and thin lips. It is not easy to fix on a Hindu type of feature, but in any case it would not resemble the Greek. They were bodily more active than Hindus; there are certainly Hindus who are fond of wrestling and games, but races are, I believe, unknown in Hindu history. The Greek dress resemble that of the ancient Hindus before the Mahommedan invasions; but the Greeks never wore the profusion of ornaments that has always delighted rajahs of ancient and modern times. As a contrast with this their furniture was more ornate and luxurious. I wish I could say something about their ideas of cleanliness, but knowledge entirely fails me on this subject. We *hear* in Greek literature plenty about washing and bathing, but that does not settle the point.

If we compare the course of history in the two peninsulars of India and Greece we find it widely different. Indian history is much longer than that of Greece. The short heyday of Greek splendour is without doubt the most wonderful period in the history of mankind. From Homer to Aristotle the interest was probably not more than 700 years; and it includes the rise and fall of two civilizations, with a change resembling that from Vedic to Puranic Hinduism. Among both peoples there were many little states, but in Greece their frontiers were strongly marked by nature, while in India natural frontiers on the whole are wanting. Yet attempts at imperial dominion were made in each case; the confederacy of Delos and the rule of Asoka; they took however a different complexion, from the prevalence of personal rule in India, and the development of the free state in Greece. Greece, before its final decline, was strong in self-defence; India, which has seen the triumph of the Aryan, the Scythian, the Moghal, and the European, has no Salamis or Platæa to remember.

Let us turn to social and political organisation. It may almost be said that the Athenians discarded all organisation that was not directly political. They retained the family in its smallest dimensions; trade guilds, I believe, either did not exist or were unimportant among them. Hinduism has developed the family idea into the joint family system; caste, I suppose, apart from its religious aspect, is mainly a system of industrial organisation, which has no parallel in Greece. Political organisation in India is represented by the village system, a genuine form but rudimentary compared with the city-state of Greece. The Hindu raja has no counterpart in the Greek system; he would be an arbitrary ruler, a tyrannos.

We are now able to draw some broad lines of contrast between Hellenic and the Hindu temper. The Hindus are without doubt a much more domestic people than the Greeks the family means a great deal more to them, and the state a great deal less. Homeric Greece is much nearer to Hinduism in this point than later Greece; Andromache and Penelope are probably not unlike women of Hindu legend. On the other hand there has never been in the Hindu world anything like the independence of the Athenian citizen, his resolution to know everything of public importance and handle great issues himself.

This individual independence is the keynote of the Greek character, and, as far as the general comparison of the Hindu and Hellenic systems may be summed up in a few words, the sum of the matter is that the Hindu system repressed and the Hellenic system sought to develop the individual. Of course human nature will assert itself; in each case some institutions and some schools of thought may be found when the opposite tendency ruled, but there are exceptions. Many little illustrations of the difference might be quoted: for instance the abundance of portrait busts in Hellas and their absence in Hinduism; the absence too of epitaphs.

One dominant feature of the Greek temper was a lively curiosity regarding the world. As soon as the Greek intellect began to stir, it put forth physical speculations, and by the time of Aristotle it had accumulated a great store of facts, ascertained by observation—meteorological, botanical and others. Amongst these were medical observations; the conditions of hygiene especially were scientifically studied. The Greek curiosity was also active in exploring the world outside Greece. There were from the first many books of travels containing reflections on foreign institutions and the possible origins of Greek civilization. Herodotus is only one of the books; many others have perished. Nor should we omit here the achievements of the Greek mathematicians. Some part of these enquiries were also undertaken by Hindus, and of late years there have been monographs published in which their achievements are estimated. I have not read them and only with diffidence hazard the opinion that the mass of work accomplished by Hindu writers was much less than that accomplished by the Greeks. I fancy also that their researches were trammelled by a mystic spirit which the Greek enquirers threw off altogether, and they resembled the alchemists of curiosity, regarding other nations or other regions of the world it appears that the Hindus never possessed the slightest share.

I reserve for a special paragraph what is closely connected

with this, the historical work of Greece. There had been nothing like it in the world before. It arose, as Thucydides and Herodotus both tell us of their own books, from the simple desire to put memorable facts on record; and it is distinguished on the whole by perfect sobriety, proportion and fidelity and fact. Hinduism did not produce work of this kind, its eyes were turned within rather than without itself.

Let us turn now to the moral ideals of the two races. Here we find ourselves with an intricate subject and in every way at opposite poles of thought. If we look at the critics emphasised by the great teachers on both sides, without entering on long catalogues, then probably the characteristic virtue in the Greek social ideal is justice, in the Hindu, compassion! Plato's Republic is chiefly concerned with this question of justice; how society may be so organised as to give every man his due share of the work to be done for it, and the benefit to be reaped from it. Plato and Aristotle have little to say about compassion and nothing at all about alms-giving. Of Hindu writers the converse is true. They do of course require justice from the state, as a protection against injury; but they do not discuss the organisation of social effort as the Greeks did—at all events not beyond division into four castes. But compassion is their standing theme. Again, their ideal of self-regarding virtues is different. The Greek ideal is temperance (an ineffectual translation), by which is meant the regulation of desires not so as to diminish desire, but so as to increase it to the uttermost, yet keeping it within the bounds of human nature and the possibility of satisfaction. The Hindu idea that objects of sense are disappointing and their pursuit brings vexation of spirit finds no countenance among the Greeks. They loved the world and held that under wise Government the desires of man are a privilege of his nature. This leads us to the ideal of human nature as a harmony. The noblest man, according to this ideal, is the man whose body is developed equally with his mind; and whose mind is developed equally in all its powers. If we contemplate the Hindu moral ideal as a contrast to this we are met by the initial difficulty that it is not simple but double. There is of course a Hindu ideal of culture. The education of a prince is sketched in Bana's *Kadambari*,* and certainly aims at a many-sided development of powers. Besides this, however, there is the Asiatic ideal, and that seems to me to have its roots far deeper in the Hindu temper. At any rate it is this which conflicts most strongly with Greece. We are bound to honour it most where it writes the impulse of self-denial with the virtue of

* For the purposes of this paper Buddhism may be regarded as a development of Hinduism.

compassion and becomes self-denial for the sake of others, an ideal scarcely recognised by the Greek moralists.

We may pass on from morality to religion. There are some aspects in which Greek and Hindu religion resemble each other, more so perhaps than we usually realise. Both are polytheisms, and it is probable that the popular polytheisms of the two races were much alike. It is when we come to the philosophic religion of the upper classes that we find differences. In the first place Hindus are distinctly a religious people, while the Greeks were not. If religion means the feeling that man lives in the presence of an unseen Power, and depends on Him, then this feeling, though not absent from the Greek mind was not so constantly present as it has been to Hinduism, nor was the idea of dependence so lively. As regards this power, Hinduism conceives it as dwelling, in its highest essence, in a state of repose; Greek thinkers conceive it as essentially active! Hinduism would assert that the Greeks never rise beyond the idea of Ishwara to that of Bramha; the Greeks, could they have been confronted with this view, would have regarded Bramha as a fiction, an abstraction, an illusion. With regard to the relation between God and the world, the Greeks conceived the world as ultimately real; and pervaded by the power of God, the "idea of the good" in Plato's language, which became the Logos of Christian doctrine. Hinduism regards the world as ultimately unreal. With regard to the relation of man and God, the Greeks devoted comparatively little thought to it. They rested satisfied too easily with the approach which man makes to the divine in the development of his powers; they did not reflect on the separation of sin (though they knew what purification means), nor on the nature of the ultimate union between man and God. Indeed, they concerned themselves little with this ultimate union; but it is clear that the repose of Nirvana and the loss of individuality would have been abhorrent to them.

The inner light, the buddhi of the East was not known to Greece, till it came there as a lesson from outside.

In saying all this it must not be forgotten that there were some important aspects of Greek religious life that are little known to us, the mysteries to the doctrines of the secret societies, such as the Pythagoreans. In connection with them the profound questions of man's destiny were raised and answered in various forms, even by the doctrine of metempsychosis, which at any rate tried and rejected by Hellenism.

I have said the Greeks were not so religious as the Hindus; they were more philosophic and artistic. Art is the instinct to give every creation of man its most perfect form, and is

naturally united with refinement of the senses. This refinement the Greeks possessed in supreme measure, and they possessed too the impulse to create and perfect. They realised the condition of artistic excellence—freedom. This condition of course applies to all human effort; and it in every direction it was attained by the Greeks. Their science was free from mysticism, their philosophy from religion, and their art from mythology. To be more accurate, their artists learned to take and reject; to draw their inspiration from mythology, yet to cast off the unsuitable elements. Thus there arose the divine union of inspiration and technical skill which the best art shows only at the best periods, and owing to the frailty of human nature disappears through the continued operation of the very causes that create it. The Greeks not only attained the psychological condition of artistic excellence, but they discovered its external formula—simplicity. Simplicity was an instinct with them, an instinct well seen in the contrast of Greek and Hindu logic. What simplicity means in art may be illustrated from a comparison of pillars in India and Greece. There are myriads of pillars in Hindu architecture, on some of which infinite labour has been expended, but it is when one compares them with the Greek orders that the true ideal of a pillar is disclosed. Of Hindu art it would be unfair to deny that it exists. Hindu music is a tone art, refined and intimate; and the carved work on Hindu temples sometimes shows genuine appreciation of symmetrical form. But Hindu art as a whole never attained very consciousness of its own worth and destiny. It existed to support religion, and was satisfied with putting before the public religious emblems in a recognisable form. In the representation of scenes it is satisfied with the intellectual ideal of making the spectator understand what is meant. It values too highly mere labour and iteration. It seldom goes to nature for its inspiration. In architecture it devised one or two real forms, but rested content too soon and stereotyped their forms by a canon which forbade development—a fate that overtook Hindu music too.

Literature to denote a few words to one more topic, is really a reflection of life and not a subject by itself. In point of language, Greek and Sanscrit may be supposed equal achievements, from the verdicts of the few who have been able to judge. As for excellence in different kinds of literature, there are of course branches arising out of the conditions of Greek life that are wanting in India, the eloquence of the free assembly, history in general; poetry of a personal character. Conversely, devotional poetry, which scarcely exists

Aristotle describes God's nature as "an energy of repose" (*kinesis kinesis*.)
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in Greek, furnishes a great part of Hindu writing. Epic poetry and the drama, as well as philosophy, both races have in common. If we consider the spirit of the two literatures, we may note one curious point in which early Sanscrit literature differs from classical Greek; it has more reference to the sights and sounds of external nature; but this in time passed away. Sanscrit literature from a Western point of view is wanting in historical and personal reminiscences, such as are found to perfection in Plutarch. What takes their place is mythological stories, which seem to a Western mind to belong to the childhood of the world.

Thus have we finished a brief survey of a very large field—though indeed we can scarcely say we have finished it without a glance at the passing of Greece. Her decline was swift and final. Desolating war and perhaps lawless vice brought it about, so far as we can see; but, be that as it may, the genius of the land left it for ever. Political independence, once lost to Macedon through their own corrupt disunion, the Greeks ceased to deserve or desire or possess. The course of Hindu history is a debatable matter, but it is clear that the Hindu world to-day resembles Greece of the first century B. C. in the loss of political independence and in the consciousness that its halcyon days lie in the past. The causes which has brought this about include, as in the case of Greece, war. It is a disputable point whether 'apart from this the genius of Hinduism would have declined from internal causes; but it is the tendency of Hinduism to close its canons too early in art and literature, and to leave the younger generations no field but repetitions and pedantic annotations. The foreign ascendancy under which Hinduism has passed differs from that which dominated Hellas in bringing its own culture.

This leads us then to a final point, the attitudes of Hinduism and Hellenism toward the world at large. Both had their natural share of contempt towards the foreigner, the "barbaros." But with the Greeks, in spite of their own great achievements, it did not perish; the best men among them were generous admirers of foreign nations; witness Herodotus in Egypt, Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, and Polybius' Roman history. Moreover, the Greeks were receptive of suggestions from foreign sources; many of their deities were imported, and in industry, literature and art they owed their first impulse to Egypt, Phœnicia and Assyria. We sometimes forget this in the blaze of their later achievements; yet we should not forget that throughout their history they opened their ears occasionally to a thing so clear as the mystic teaching of the East, which penetrated Pythagoras and Plato

and culminated at Alexandria in the Hellenic version of Christianity. This, however, belongs to the Hellenistic rather than the Hellenic world; the age when Greek ideas left Greece to permeate foreign nations and travel by their own interest power to Central Asia and Hindostan. Whether Hinduism has absorbed foreign elements, it is difficult to say, and we know so little about its history. It has been suggested by various writers that stone architecture, coins stamped in relief, the Epic and the Drama of Hindu literature are due to Greek influence; and the suggestion has been vigorously combated whether Hinduism did or did not in the Hellenistic age accept any suggestions from Greece, it has since that time ignored the external world, a thousand years of contact with Islam have produced no effect on it.

The modern European system is an attempt to fix the energetic and adventurous spirit of Hellenism with the spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice, which, without raising further controversy, we may call in general terms Eastern. The fusion is full of difficulty, and is far from perfect either as a matter of theory or practice. The last, however, is not likely to abandon it or to accept the quietistic ideal which admirers of the Hindu system recommend. The future of Hinduism no one can predict—certainly not an Englishman.

J. NELSON FRASER.

ART. XII—THE FOLK-LORE OF THE PSALMS.

THE PSALMS IN GENERAL.

Old Hymn in Praise of Psalms.—The following stanzas are interesting not only as exhibiting a very early specimen of English verse, in praise of the Psalter; but also as forming part of one of those 'Miracle Plays' with which the monks entertained and instructed our ancestors 400 years ago. The stanzas themselves occur in a drama entitled 'Mary's Betrothment,' and which is one of the 'Coventry Mysteries' so-called from their having been originally exhibited by the Gray Friars of that city. The MS, a quarto volume, is in the British Museum, and appears to have been written in 1468. The speaker, in the present instance, is the Virgin Mary.

Now, Lord God, dysspose me to prayour,
That I may sey the holy psalmes of Davyth,
Wheche book is clessyd the Sautere,
That I may preyse the, my God, therwith
Of the vertuys therof this is the pygth,
It makyth sowles fayr, that doth it say,
Angelys besteryd to help us therwith,
It lytenyth therkenesse and puttyth devely away.

The song of Psalmns is Goddys dete,
Synne is put away therby :
It lernyth a man vertuys ful to be,
It feryth mannys herte gostly.
Who that it usyth customally,
It claryfieth the herte, and charyte' makyth cowthe,
He may not ffaylen of Goddys mercy
That hath the preysenge of God evyr in his mouth.

O holy Psalmys ! O holy book !
Swetter to say than any ony !
Thou lernyst hem love Lord, that on the book,
And makyst hym desyre thinges celestly,
With these halwyd psalmys, Lord, I pray specyaly
Ffor able the creatures guyke and dede,
That thou wylt shewe to hem thi mercy,
And to me specyaly[that do it rede.*

• Holland. *Psalmists of Britain*, p. 40.

Curious origin of the word Psalter and the reason for it.—“Some call it the Psalter, as S. Augustine, S. Jerome and other of the Aunceants have tearmed it, and this name might be given for divers respects; either a *Psallendo* and for that it is written in verse, appertaining to musick; or else it was borrowed from that instrument whereunto it was usually sung; for that which the Jews called *Nebel* was an instrument which the *Latines* call *Psalterium*. It consisted of ten strings, and differed from the *viole* or Harpe, in that they gave forth their sound belowe and the *Psallery* above. Moreover some thinke that it might be called the Psalter in respect of the thing signified by that instrument; for the Psallery, on which they usually prayed God in the olde Law, had tenne strings, which signified the ten precepts of the Law; and by that the mystical Psallery of the Gospel was also figured; whose ten strings are the ten mysteries of Christ and his Church. The first string of this *Psallery* is a Trinitie of Persons, in the Unitie of essence. The 2nd is the mysterie of the Incarnation and Nativitie of Christ. The 3rd is the mysteries of preaching and sanctitie of Christ. The 4th of his miracles. The 5th of his passion and death. The 6th of his resurrection. The 7th of his Ascension and Universal Sovereignitie. The 8th is the mysterie of sending the Holy Ghost. The 9th of the call of the *Gentiles*. The 10th of the general Judgment and everlasting glory. These are the 10 strings we should often be harping on, to make music in our own hearts, and in the eares of our God.”*

Early Name of Psalter.—In the early phraseology of the Eastern and Western Churches the Psalter is simply called *David*, e.g., in Chrysostom *ἐκμαθόντες ὅλον τὸν Δαβὶδ*, and at the close of the Ethiopic Psalter, “David is ended.”†

A List of Psalms for Use, “principally compiled from the Epistle of S. Athanasius to Marcellinus, and not without its Use.”

Prayer.—Psalms 17, 68, 90, 102, 132, 142.

In Prayer, with supplication for deliverance, Psalms 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 16, 25, 27, 31, 35, 38, 43, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 64, 83, 86, 88, 140, 141, 143.

In supplication for deliverance alone. Psalms 3, 26, 69, 70, 71, 74, 79, 80, 123, 130, 131.

In Confession of sins. Psalm 51.

If thou desirest to render thanks to God for His many

* John Wither.

† Delitzsch's *Commentary*, vol. i

Marvels, or on the accomplishment of some good work, Psalms 8, 81.

If thou desirest to know how others praise God, Psalms 113, 117, 125, 146, 147, 148, 150.

If thou desirest to stir up thyself to bless God, Psalms 103, 104.

If thou desirest to praise God, Psalms 92, 105, 106, 107, 108, 112, 136, 138.

If thou desirest to sing to God, Psalms 93, 98.

If thou desirest to remember the mercy and justice of God, Psalm 101.

If thou desirest to exhort to faith and obedience, Psalm 41.

If thou desirest to show to others of what kind is the man who is a citizen of heaven, Psalms 15, 24.

If thou desirest to ridicule heretics or Gentiles, Psalm 76.

If thou beholdest heretics gathered together against the House of God, Psalm 83.

If thou desirest to convince heretics, Psalm 87.

If thou desirest to remember the benefit of the redemption of man, Psalms 8, 87, 116 (verse 10 to end).

If thou desirest to admire Sermons, and the grace of the preacher, Psalm 19.

If thou wouldst remember the Incarnation of our Lord, Psalms 45, 110.

If thou wouldst remember the Lord, Psalms 22, 69.

If thou wouldst sing of the Resurrection, Psalms 16, 66.

If thou wouldst remember the Ascension, Psalms 24, 47.

If thou wouldst call to remembrance the future judgment, Psalms 50, 72.

If thou wouldst commemorate martyrs, Psalm 79.

If thou wouldst praise God on Festivals, Psalms 81, 95.

If thou wouldst sing on Good Friday, Psalm 93.

If thou wouldst sing on Saturday, Psalm 92.

If thou wouldst return thanks on Sunday, Psalms 34, 119.

The Name of the Psalter as the title of the Book, is derived from the Alexandrine MS. of the LXX.—*ψαλτήριον μετ' ᾠδαῖς*,—The Harp with Songs.*

Psalms and their Headings.—It ought to be noticed that in the performance of psalmody, the headings or titles of the Psalms seem always to have been recited. It is well known that in his popular sermons on the Psalms, S. Augustine often makes a great deal out of the strange words which the English reader commonly passes quite unnoticed. Indeed, he speaks of the title as the herald of the Psalm (*oraeco Psalmi*). In

* Stanley's, *Jewish Church* II, p. 120.

this respect Christianity probably followed what had always been (and still is) the usage of the synagogue, where the title is always recited as an integral part of the Psalm, when the Psalm is used for devotional purposes, either by a single individual, or by the assembled multitude.*

Authors and Titles of Psalms.—With regard to the Authors of the Psalms, S. Jerome makes the following statement ; “ we bear witness that the Psalms were written by those Authors whose names appear in their titles,—viz., by David, Asaph, and Jeduthun (or Ethan) ; by the sons of Korah, by Heman the Ezrahite, by Moses and by Solomon ; all which were arranged in one volume or roll by Ezra. If by the name titles we understand the superscription in the *Hebrew* original (not those also which have been added in the Greek and other versions), we may accept this declaration as correct. In confirmation of it, it may be observed that the ancient Hebrew Church received the titles (which specify the names of the Authors) as integral parts of the Psalms to which they are prefixed.

Consequently these titles were justly regarded by ancient interpreters as of great value, not only as indicating the names of the Authors of the Psalms, but also as specifying the occasions on which they were written.” S. Augustine calls the titles the “ *heralds* of the Psalms ” also “ decorations upon the brow of Psalms ” (Enarrations on Psalm lviii at beginning).

S. Chrysostom compares them to the statues which kings erect to victorious generals (in Homily on Psalms iii at beginning).

S. Jerome (ii—122) calls them “ the *keys* which open the doors of the Psalms to us.” (Proæmium to the Psalms.) The titles found in the Hebrew MSS are of course given in our Bible version—being a translation from the original.†

Titles of Anonymous Psalms.—A Rabbinic Canon, referred to by Hilary and Jerome—probably a mere hasty generalization from what is really the case in the first three books of the Psalter—enacts that all anonymous psalms shall be deemed the compositions of the Authors named in the superscriptions last preceding. In virtue of this Canon the Jewish critics from the time of Jerome downwards have assigned the ninety-first and nine following Psalms to Moses.‡

* Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 1754.

† Wordsworth's *Commentary*, vol. iv, p. xii.

‡ Thrupp on the *Psalms* vol. ii, p. 120.

List of Authors of Psalms.—Moses of one Psalm (90).

David of 73 (37 in Book i: 18 in Book ii: 1 in Book iii: 2 in Book iv: 15 in Book v).

Solomon, of 2 (Psalms 72 and 127).

Asaph of 12 Psalms (see in Psalms 50).

Sons of Korah (including Heman the Ezrahite) of 11 Psalms.

Ethan or Jeduthun of one Psalm (Psalm 89).

"This makes a total of 100 Psalms, leaving 50 anonymous."

The Alphabetical or Acrostic Psalms are 9 in number, Psalms 9, 10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145*.

No Title.—There are only 33 of the Psalms that have no title at all, and these are called by the Jews "Orphan Psalms." †

The Superscriptions of the Psalms are designed to serve a variety of purposes:—

1. They sometimes indicate the *writers* of the respective Psalms. The Psalmists thus named in them are Moses, David, Asaph, Solomon, the sons of Korah, and the Ezrahites.

2. Sometimes they indicate the *character* of the Psalms. One Psalm is entitled "a (psalm of) Praise"; others "a song;" or "a psalm or song;" very many, "a psalm;" a considerable number, a "Maschil" or instruction. "Michtaim" and "Shiggaion" are understood to be words of the same order, but their precise meaning has not been quite ascertained.

3. Sometimes they convey *direction regarding the music*. Thus: "on Nehiloth" (Psalm v) denotes the accompaniment of *flutes*. "On Neginoth" (Psalms iv, vi, liv, lv, lxi, lxvi, lxvii,) the accompaniment of *stringed instruments*.

4. Several relate to the sort of use for which the Psalms were designed. Thus fifty-five are inscribed to the "Chief Musician," and three of these the name of "Jeduthun" is added. Fifteen are entitled "Songs of Degrees" or of *goings up to Jerusalem to the feasts*. The xcii Psalm is entitled "a psalm or song for the Sabbath day," and is thus marked as the one which was constantly sung in the temple on that day. ‡

Fixing the Dates of the Psalms.—Instructive as it would be to fix the dates of each of the various Psalms, as of each book in the Bible, there are limits beyond which our ignorance

* Wordsworth's *Commentary*, vol. iv, p. xii.

† *The Psalms; Their History, Teaching, etc.* by Dr. Binnie, p. 51.

‡ *Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms* by Rev. A. Bonar.

forbids us to venture, and within which we must acquiesce in the warning voice which the Ancient Rabbi was reported to have heard, when he attempted to re-arrange the Psalter. 'Arouse not the slumberer'—that is 'Disturb not David.'*

Table of Verses of the Psalms Quoted in the New Testament:—

Psaln	Verse	Quoted in	Psaln	Verse	Quoted in
II.	1-2.	Acts. IV, 25, 26	XXXIV.	13.	I S. Pet. III, 3, 10
II.	7.	" XIII, 33	XXXV.	19.	S. Jno. XV, 25
II.	9.	Rev. II, 27	XXXVI.	2.	Rom. III, 18
V.	10.	Rom. III, 13	XL.	7.	Heb X, 5
VIII.	3.	S. Matt. XXI, 16	XLI.	9.	S. Jno. XIII, 18
VIII.	5.	Heb. II, 6	XLIV.	22.	Rom. VIII, 36
VIII.	6.	I cor. XV, 27	XLV.	7-8.	Heb. I, 8, 9
X.	7.	Rom III, 14	LI.	6.	Rom. III, 4
XIV.	1.	Rom. III, 10	LXVIII.	19.	Eph. IV, 8
XVI.	8.	Acts II, 28	LXIX.	10.	Rom. XV, 3
XVIII.	50.	Rom. XV, 9	LXIX.	10.	S. Jno. II, 17
XIX.	5.	Rom. X, 18	LXIX.	10.	Rom. XI, 9, 10
XXII.	2.	S. Matt. XXVIII, 46	LXIX.	26.	Act I, 20
XXII.	19.	S. Jno. XIX, 24	LXXVIII.	2.	S. Matt. XIII, 35
XXII.	23.	Heb II, 12	LXXXVIII.	24.	S. Jno. VI, 31
XXIV.	1.	I Cor. X, 26	LXXXII.	6.	S. Jno. X, 34
XXXII.	1-2.	Rom. IV, 7, 8	LXXXIX.	20.	Acts XIII, 22†

The Inscriptions on the Psalms—The conclusion, then at which we arrive here, is the same as in the case of the alleged authorship of certain Psalms. The Inscriptions cannot always be relied on. They are sometimes genuine and really represent the most ancient tradition. At other times, they are due to the caprice of later Editors and Collectors, the fruits of conjecture, or of dimmer and more uncertain traditions. In short the Inscriptions of the Psalms are like the Subscriptions to the Epistles of the New Testament. They are not of any necessary authority, and their value must be weighed and tested by the usual critical processes.‡

Need of Modern Criticism in interpreting the Psalms.—It is hardly necessary to repeat what has been said in the Prefaces to the two previous volumes on the advantage and the duty of availing ourselves, as far as possible, of the light of modern criticism in the elucidation of the sacred books. It is true that in so doing we deviate considerably from the method of interpretation pursued in many former ages of the Church. But this is a deviation in which the whole

* Stanley's *Jewish Church* Vol. III, Pref. X, IV.

† Plumer on *The Psalms*, pp 11, 12.

‡ *The Book of Psalms* by J. Stewart Perowne, Vol. II, p. 102.

modern world has shared. When Augustine repeatedly insists that the Psalms ascribed under their titles to Korah are descriptions of the Passion, and that the sons of Korah are Christians because 'Korah' in Hebrew, and 'Calvary' in Latin may be translated 'bald head,' and because Elisha was derided under that name; when Gregory the Great sees the twelve Apostles, and therefore the Clergy in the seven sons of Job, and the lay-worshippers of the Trinity in his three daughters, it is impossible not to feel that the gulf between these extravagancies and the more rational explanation of later times is wider than that which parts any of the modern schools of theology from each other.*

The Order of the Psalms—Eusebius observes the Psalms are not placed in chronological order, but are disposed according to a law of inward affinity. And we may proceed to affirm that this law of inward affinity is grounded on their relation to Christianity. We need not hesitate to assert with S. Chrysostom that the more the organic structure of the Psalms is analyzed, the more it will be recognized to have been pre-adjusted by the Holy Spirit Himself to the doctrine of the Gospel of Christ.

By whom the Psalms were arranged in their present order is not certain. It has been ascribed, with great probability to Ezra (S. Hil Proleg in *Psalms* expresses the prevailing opinion of Christian antiquity when he says, 'Ezra creditur Psalms post captivitatem in unum librum collegisse'; so S. Jerome and S. Chrysostom), 'the priest and ready scribe in the Law of Moses,' who was endued with spiritual gifts, and had a principal part in completing the canon of the Old Testament, and in settling the religious affairs of the Hebrew nation after the Captivity, in conjunction with Nehemiah, and with the prophets Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi.†

The Titles of the Psalms.—In the Hebrew MSS. the Psalms are entitled Sepher Tehillim or Book of Praises; a correct title as describing their design generally, although only one Psalm, Psalm CXLV, has the name *tehillah* in its title.‡

Division of the Psalms.—It must be borne in mind, in reading the Greek and Latin Calendar of the Psalms, that the numbering of the Psalms in the LXX and Vulgate differ from the Hebrew.

* Stanley, *Jewish Church*, Vol. III, Pref. XIII.

† Wordsworth's *Commentary*, Vol. IV, pp. 4, 9.

‡ Wordsworth's *Commentary*, Vol. IV. p. 1.

Thus in Hebrew Psalms	IX and X	correspond to Psalm	LXX and Vulgate.
	XI—CXIII	"	IX. IX X—CXII.
"	CXIV, CXV.	"	CXIII.
"	CXVI	"	CXIV—CXV.
"	CXVII—CXLVI	"	CXVI—CXLV.
"	CXLVII	"	CXLVI—CXLVII.
"	CXLVIII—CL	"	CXLVIII—CL.*

David as the Author of all the Psalms.—The popular belief that the Psalter of David was entirely composed by David himself has given way before the critical research which long ago detected the vast diversity of authorship existing throughout the collection (so Augustine and Chrysostom say;) just as for a similar reason the whole Pentateuch has been at times ascribed to Moses, the whole of the Books of Samuel to Samuel, the whole of the Book of Joshua to Joshua, or the whole of the Book of Isaiah to Isaiah. . . . As far back as the Christian era, this whole collection went under the name of "David." As such it is constantly quoted in the New Testament. As such it was received by the most illustrious of the Fathers, Augustine and Chrysostom. As such it is introduced into the English Prayer Book. This uniformity of authorship in the Psalms has now been generally abandoned. Not only are the most various authors and ages admitted by all scholars into this once exclusively Davidic dominion, but even the time-honoured titles which were long received as essential parts of the Canonical Scriptures, and which unquestionably represent the oldest tradition are now generally treated as uncertain in date and unauthentic in substance.

The consequence has been an universal recognition of that wonderful variety of situation and character which gives to the Psalter one of its chief outward charms.†

The Psalms a Second Pentateuch.—The ancient rabbins saw in the Five Books of the Psalter the image of the Five Books of the Law. This way of looking on the Psalms as a second Pentateuch, the echo of the first passed over into the Christian Church, and found favour with some early Fathers. It has commended itself to the acceptance of good recent expositors, like Dr. Delitzsch, who calls the Psalter "the Congregation's five-fold word to the Lord, even as the *Thora* (the Law) is the Lord's five-fold word to the congregation." This may be mere fancy, but its existence from ancient times shows that the five-fold division attracted early notice.‡

* Wordsworth's *Commentary*, Vols. IV, XII. p. 1.

† Stanley's *Jewish Church*, pp. 121, 448.

‡ *The Psalms; Their History* etc., by D. Binnie.

The Poetry of the Psalms has with justice been described by Herder, and the description has been beautifully amplified by a living writer as "a poetry of friendship between the spirit of man and the spirit of God." *

The Versions of S. Jerome.—These versions were put forth by S. Jerome, both from the LXX. Of these the one was prepared at Rome, at the instigation of S. Damasus; the other in Palestine at the solicitation of S. Paula and her daughter S. Eustoch.

The former known as the Roman or Italic was at first employed all over Europe. But S. Gregory of Tours, having introduced a copy of the second or corrected version into Gaul, led by the weight of his authority to its introduction there, whence it obtained the name of Gallican. Thence it found its way into Germany, where it was struggling for mastery as early as the time Walapud Strato; in Spain it intruded when the Roman Ritual supplanted Mozarabic in that of S. Gregory VII.

It shortly invaded Italy itself, for we find S. Francis enjoining on his order the use of the Roman Office, *except* the Psalter. Under Sixtus IV the Italic use survived only in the city of Rome itself, and the suburban district marked out by a radius of forty miles from the capital. By the Council of Trent it was abrogated, but the Canons of S. John Lateran fought so strenuously for its retention that Pius V, probably not unwilling to dispense with a decree of the Council, sanctioned their wish, and by them it is used to this day. Those Spanish Churches which have retained the Mozarabic use have also retained this version. The modern Roman Breviary employs it in many versicles and responses, and from it the 95th Psalm is always recited except on the Epiphany.†

The Syriac Version of the Old Testament is of great antiquity, though the precise date has never been satisfactorily determined. Syriac writers themselves are extravagant on the point—some going so far as to say that a portion of it was made by command of Solomon for the use of Hiram, King of Tyre, and other portion by command of Agbarus, King of Edessa in the time of our Lord. It is referred by others to the hand of Asa, priest of the Samaritans,—of S. Thaddæus, the Apostle and of S. Mark the Evangelist. It is claimed that it must be as old as the Apostolic era because S. Paul in quoting a Psalm (Ephes. IV-8) differs both from the Hebrew and the LXX and agrees with the Syriac in an important

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 106, 107

† Dr. Neale's *Commentary*, Vol. I. p. 75.

peculiarity, to this however it is replied that the Syriac version of this passage may have been subsequently formed according to S. Paul's quotation. The concurrent testimony of the Syrians themselves, for whose use it was designed, and none of whom refer it to a later period than the close of the first, or beginning of the second century, would seem to be entitled to great respect. It is held in high esteem by the Aramæan Christians of every sect, is quoted by S. Ephraem Syrus in the fourth century as generally known, and is commended by him and other Syriac writers for its fidelity to the original*.

On the Titles of the Syriac Version.—It is not proved, but neither is it disproved that these titles were not the work of the Syriac translator, and whatever may be said of their authoritative value, and however unintelligible some of them may appear to be, they will be allowed to be interesting as an ancient commentary upon this portion of the Word of God.†

Those who reject the Psalms.—The Christian Church and the Synagogue have always regarded the collection of 150 Psalms which compose the Psalter as a Divine work, and inspired by the Holy Ghost. The Nicolaitaines, the Gnostics, and the Manichees as reported by Philastrius, denied that David was a Prophet, and that his words were inspired by the Holy Ghost. And Paul of Samosata had the impiety to suppress the Psalms, which had been accustomed to be sung in the Church in honor of Jesus Christ, and to substitute for them others composed for his own praise, saying that these primitive songs were the work of modern authors and without authority. But it has been doubted with good reason whether these Psalms suppressed by Paul of Samosata were the sacred and canonical songs, and not rather hymns composed in honor of Jesus Christ by the first Christians. Some Anabaptists have also carried their temerity so far as to reject the Psalms of David, but the Church has always condemned with horror those, who have attempted to weaken their authority wholly or in part.

The Psalms in Devotion.—The Council of Toulouse (A. D. 1229) prohibited the use of the Bible to laymen, the Book of Psalms excepted. We may account for the diligent use of the Psalms for devotional purposes from the fact, that more than any other book of Scripture, they contain the effusions of subjective piety, and meet on tha

* Oliver's *Translation of the Syriac Version*, Preface V.

† Oliveers *Translation of the Syriac Version* Preface XIII.

account in a more *immediate* manner the wants of Christian devotion. Luther says "other books talk much of the *works* of Saints, but little of their *words*. The noble virtue and manner of the Psalter is a pattern of another kind. Its perusal is so delightful because not only are the works of Saints recounted, but the words given in which they spake and prayed to God."*

The Psalms and the Clergy.—"The Primitive Church," says Bishop Taylor, "would admit no man to the superior orders of the Clergy, unless, among other pre-required dispositions they could say all David's Psalter by heart."†

Syrian Education and the Psalms.—Christian education in Syria began with the Psalms. Thus Assem T. III. 7, 937. 'Tirones primum psalmos Davidicos legant; deinde Novum Testamentum, mox Vetus.‡

The Psalms and the Koran.—The Psalms are regarded in the Koran (IV., 161) as the fourth Sacred book, the Pentateuch, the Gospels and the Koran being the other three.§

What the Mohammedans say of the Book of Psalms.—The Mohammedans all allow that the *Ziboor*, or Book of Psalms, was given to David by *immediate inspiration*; and that it contains 150 Sowrats or chapters. His skill in music is also proverbial among Mohammedans. Hence some verses in the *Anvari Soheely*, which are to this effect: "you decide the greatest difficulties with as much ease as David touched the chords of the lyre when he chanted the Psalms." If we could persuade the Mohammedans that the Book of Psalms which we now possess was the real work of David, something would be gained towards their conversion. But they say the Jews have corrupted it, as the Christians have the *Anjeel* (Gospel), and the book which they produce as the Psalms of David consists of extracts only from the Psalms, with a variety of other matters which have no relation either to David or his work.||

Rabbinical Story of the composition of Psalms.—'David used to be awakened at midnight, and moved to begin the composition of Psalms by the north wind rippling along the

* Tholuck's *Commentary*, p. 1.

† *Sermon on the whole duty of the Clergy.* Works, Vol. viii, p. 597.

‡ *Speaker's Commentary* p. 146.

§ Stanley's *Jewish Church* II, p. 120.

|| Adam Clarke's *Commentary*, p. 2413.

'strings of his harp.' A Cithern used to hang above David's bed, and when midnight came the north wind blew among the strings so that they sounded themselves; and forthwith he arose and busied himself with the time until the pillar of the dawn ascended.*

The Pauline Psalms.—Luther being asked on one occasion which were the best Psalms, he replied 'the *Pauline* Psalms.' Being pressed to say which these Pauline Psalms were he answered, "The 32nd, the 51st, the 130th, and the 143rd. For they teach us that the forgiveness of sins is vouchsafed without the law and without works. Therefore are they the *Pauline* Psalms for if David says, "With Thee is the forgiveness, that Thou mayest be feared' (Ps. CXXX)' so Paul likewise saith, 'God hath concluded all under sin, 'that He may have mercy on us all.' Therefore none can boast of his own righteousness but the words 'that Thou mayest be feared' 'thrust away all self-merit, teach us to *take off our hat before God* and confess, 'It is all grace, not desert; forgiveness, not compensation.'"†

Suitability of the Psalms to all—Every language, and every section of Christendom has its own peculiar delight in the Psalms. The awful pomp of the Latin Church; the homelier forms of Teutonic Christianity; the speculative subtlety and exuberant rhetoric of the Greek even before the Altar; the sober and reserved reverence of the Anglican Church; the austere severity of sectarian devotion; find their expression in the Psalter.‡

Psalms in mourning.—S. Jerome records how in that great mourning for Paula, Psalms were sung in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac. That the solemn silence after Monica's departure was broken first by the cadence of a chanted Psalm. No book which was without the hope of immortality could have cheated so many dying Saints, and deceived so many generations of mourners.‡

Quotations from the Psalms. The total direct quotations from the Old Testament in the New is 285, of these 116 are from the Psalter. A similar proportion is found in citations by most of the Early Fathers.§

* *Talmud* Berachoth 31.

† *The Pilgrim Psalms* by S. Cox.

‡ *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity* p. 176.

§ *Speaker's Commentary* p. 146.

Suitableness of certain Psalms to certain occasions.—

Catherine Stanley was the wife of Edward Lord Bishop of Norwich and the mother of Dean Stanley of Westminster. She died March 5th, 1862. Her son says of her death day 'That 5th of March was the Ash Wednesday of 1862, when her surviving son was absent in attendance on the Prince of Wales on a journey through Egypt and Palestine. . . . On another Ash Wednesday, the 1st of March 1876, he stood by the death bed of her' (his own wife, Lady Augusta Stanley) 'by whose supporting love he had been comforted after his mother's death, and whose character, although cast in another mould, remains to him, with that of his mother the brightest and most sacred vision of his earthly experience. The following selection of certain Psalms is the work of this mother, so well-beloved.

The sense of the effect of religion in elevating the mind and character above external circumstances.

'O set me up upon the rock that is higher than I.' Psalm lxi, 3.

Thankfulness for the vicissitudes of happiness and sorrow.

'O what great troubles and adversities had Thou shewed me !

And yet did'st turn and refresh me, and broughtest me from the earth again.' Psalm lxxi, 18.

The unexpected growth of good out of evil.

'Unto the godly there ariseth up light in the darkness.' Psalm cxii, 4.

The Uncertainty and mystery of the mode of the Divine nature combined with the certainty of its moral perfection.

'Clouds and darkness are round about Him, righteousness and judgment are the habitations of His seat.' Psalm xcvi, 2.

The effect of criticism on the Bible.

'Thy word is tried to the uttermost, and 'yet 'thy servant loveth it.' Psalm cxix, 140.*

Recitation of the Psalms in Hebrew—S. Gregory in the fifth century, writing to a woman called Eustochium, concerning her mother, says:—The Holy Scriptures she knew by heart. Indeed I must say more, what perhaps to everyone seems incredible, she also understood the Hebrew language so well that she sang the Psalms in Hebrew, even as we find it to be the case with her daughter Eustochium.

Psalm-caking.—At Great Martin, in Lancashire, there was formerly a sort of procession of young people from house to house, at each of which they recited Psalms, and in return received presents of cakes ; whence the custom was called Psalm-caking.

* *Memoirs of Edward and Catherine Stanley*, p. 326.

The singing of Psalms, and the name of the custom seem to be only a misapprehension of the old term *sal-mas*, the mass or requiem for the dead, on November 2nd, on which day this custom prevailed.*

The Psalter and the individual recitation of it.—One remarkable effect of the prevalence of psalmody, and the scarcity of books was that the Psalter was frequently learnt by heart. In the sixth century this is reported of Cyril of Scythopolis to have been done by S. Theodosius. S. Jerome desired that it should be done even by very young people. Sketching the perfect monk he requires that by such a character it should be learnt word for word (*ad Rusticum*). The damsel Pacatula was to commit the Psalms to memory at seven years old (*ad Gaudentium*). No one of the sisters in the Jerusalem convent might be ignorant of the Psalter (*ad Eustochium*). Even the Huns, he says, are learning the Psalter (*ad Laetam*). Cyril of Scythopolis, in the Life of S. Sabas, says that monks were not admitted, till they had learnt the Psalter and the rule of psalmody. Hence it was ruled by the second council of Nicæa (can. 2), that no one should be advanced to be a bishop unless he knew the Psalter by heart, and that he was to be examined by the Metropolitan.

Gregory the Great says that he would not ordain John the Presbyter, because he did not know the Psalms. (S. Greg. M. lib. 4, Ep. 45). The same pope would not allow Rusticus the deacon to be made bishop of Ancona for a similar reason. He was a vigilant man, indeed he said, but according to report, he did not know the Psalms.

A curious story of an ineffectual attempt to learn the Psalter by heart, is told of the Archimandrite Theodore, a portion of whose life is given in the Acts of the second council of Nicæa. He had been miraculously cured of an epidemic sickness which had threatened to prove mortal, and on his recovery, apparently by way of thank-offering, he resolved to learn the Psalter. He learned the first seventeen Psalms, but the eighteenth baffled him, presumably by its length. He was in despair about his task. But prostrating himself on the pavement of an oratory, he prayed for success. At length on rising, he gazed upon the image of the Saviour, he felt in his mouth a taste sweeter than honey, his prayer was granted, and from that moment his task proceeded smoothly till he had learned the entire Psalter.

So great was the zeal of holy men for psalmody that wonderful achievements are recorded as to the number of

* *Popular Customs and Superstitions*, R. J. Hampson, Vol. 1, p. 375.
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Psalms which they recited. S. Gregory Thaumaturgus passed entire nights in Church with prayers and psalmody. S. Isidore had no fixed number of Psalms which he said in the service of God, for the night and the day used to be spent upon it. S. Germanus who was Bishop of Paris in the latter half of the sixth century, would say fifty Psalms or more before he rose from his bed, and called his companions. (*Vita, ad fin.*) Of S. Maur the disciple of S. Benedict, it is related that he would repeat commonly fifty Psalms, often a hundred, and sometimes the entire Psalter before the night office. S. Gregory of Tours (*de Glor. Confess.*) has even a wonderful story of two dead priests miraculously taking part in the psalmody of the choir, with the rest of the clergy.

Palaemon, the abbot, would say the whole Psalter, and the canticles by night without any sound. By the rule of S. Benedict (Reg. c. 18) the whole Psalter was to be gone through in the week—a light rule, he urges, seeing that the holy fathers did as much in a single day. In England, also, a similar devotion to the psalter appears to have prevailed. King Egbert even made a vow that besides the psalmody in the canonical offices he would daily chant the whole Psalter. (*Bede Eccl. Hist.* III. 27.) *

The Prayer of Jonah and the Psalms.—The Prayer of Jonah, chap. ii, affords a beautiful instance of the use of the Psalter by a believing Israelite of old. Every phrase is taken from the Psalms, but with such slight, yet significant addition of tone or colouring as shows a living freedom of adaptation. See especially Verses 2, 5 and 8.

Verse 2.—"I cried by reason of mine affliction unto the Lord, and He heard me; out of the belly of hell cried I, and thou heardest my voice."

Psalm exxi.—'In my distress I cried unto the Lord, and He heard me.'

Psalm cxxx, 1.—'Out of the depths have I cried unto Thee, O Lord.'

Psalm cxlij, 1.—'I cried unto the Lord with my voice; with my voice unto the Lord did I make my supplication.'

Jonah ii, 5.—'The waters compassed me about, even to the soul.'

Psalm lxix, 1.—'Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul.'

* *Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 1748.

Jonah ii, 8.—‘They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy.’

Psalm xxxi, 6.—‘I have hated them that regard lying vanities; but I trust in the Lord.’*

Our Blessed Lord and the Psalter.—“If (the Psalter) appears to have been the manual of the Son of God in the days of his flesh; who at the conclusion of the last supper is generally supposed, and that upon good grounds to have sung an hymn taken from it; who pronounced on the Cross the beginning of the xxii. Psalm. “My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?” and expired with a part of the xxxi. Ps. in His mouth, “Into Thy Hands I commend my Spirit.” Thus He who had not the Spirit by measure, in whom were all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and spake as never man spake, yet chose to conclude His life, to solace Himself in His greatest agony, and at last to breathe out His soul, in the Psalmist’s form of words rather than His own.”†

S. Athanasius and the recitation of the Psalms.—Athanasius (*de Virginitate*) tells a lady, “Say as many Psalms as you can, and to every Psalm let there be joined prayers and bending of the knees with tears,.....and after three psalms are finished, say *Alleluia*.”‡

Recitation of the Psalms.—There was a priest in the Church of Durham (while Eadmund was Bishop A. D. 1021) by name Elfred, who survived to the time of Bishop Egelwin, entirely devoted to S. Cuthbert: very sober, given to Alms-deeds, diligent in prayer, a terror to persons of loose character, but revered by all well-behaved and God-fearing men. He was a most faithful guardian of the Church, and when two succeeding Bishops, Egelric and Egelwin, and some of the monks wished to make free with the goods of the Church, and even with the relics, the fear of Elfred restrained them. Every night *he recited the Psalter*, before he rang the bell for nocturns, and he was the most zealous in teaching the young men to take their part in divine service.”§

The Cathach or Book of Battle.—S. Columba’s famous Mission to the Highlands of Scotland in A. D. 561, arose out of circumstances singularly characteristic of the time in

* *The Witness of the Psalm to Christ and Christianity*, p. 84.

† *Horne on the Psalms* Vol i Pref p. 5.

‡ *Smith’s Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 1743.

§ *Diocesan History of Durham*, p. 115.

which he lived. Columba had a passion of copying or borrowing volumes and manuscripts in the various monasteries, on one occasion he paid a visit to S. Finnian at Drom Finn, in Ulster, and borrowed his copy of the Psalter. Anxious to retain a copy of the volume, and yet afraid that Finnian would not grant permission if he made the request, he resolved upon a stratagem to effect his purpose. Every day he repaired to the Church, and when the people had all left, remained behind and transcribed as much as he could of the volume. The circumstance did not escape the notice of S. Finnian, but he resolved to say nothing about the matter till Columba had concluded his labours, when he sent and demanded the book, reminding him that as the original was his, so also was the copy which he had made without his permission. Columba was extremely indignant, and refused outright to comply; words followed and it was agreed to refer the dispute to Diarmaid the King of Ireland. Accordingly the disputants repaired to Tara and were admitted to an audience. The case was heard, and at the close Diarmaid gave the curious judgment which to this day is a proverb in Ireland. "Le gach boin a boinin legach leabhar a leabhran" said he, that is, "To every cow belongeth her little cow or calf, and to every book belongeth its son book or copy, therefore the book you wrote, O Columba, belongs by right to Finnian." "That is an unjust decision, O Diarmaid," was Columba's reply, "and I will avenge it on you."

Some time after, because the King had slain the son of the King of Connaught who had fled to the Saint for sanctuary, Columba with the men of Tyrone and the King of Connaught marched to Cooldreony between Sligo and Dromcliffe, where a battle was fought in which Diarmaid was discomfited. For this deed of blood the synod assembled at Teltoun in Meath, decreed that Columba "as the author of so great a slaughter, ought to quit his country, and win over to Christ from amongst the heathen, as many souls as had perished in battle."

Accordingly, after announcing his intentions to his royal relations, Columba, now in his 42nd year, collected twelve companions, and in the year A.D. 563 embarked in an osier boat covered with skins, and made for the western shores of Scotland. "The MS of the Psalter which had been the cause of this strange conflict was now returned to Columba, and was hereafter known as the Oathach or Book of Battles, and became the national relic of the clan of the O'Donnells. In an engagement which took place in 1479 between the O'Donnells and the McDermotts it was taken into battle, enshrined in a sort of portable altar, but was captured by the McDermotts. They

restored it, however, in 1499, and it is now to be seen in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy."

S. Anskar.—A monk of Corbey near Amiens—Missionary to Sweden and afterwards Archbishop of Hamburg (died February 3rd, 1865 A.D.) 'chanted a fixed number of *Psalms*, alike when he arose in the morning, and when he retired to bed at night.'*

S. Basil and the Psalms.—S. Basil directs that such as neglect to commit the Psalms to memory shall be shut up in solitude or kept fasting till they do. Another writer declares that 'no one who claims the name of monk, can be allowed to be ignorant of letters; moreover he must know all the Psalms by heart.'†

The Clugniacs and the Psalms.—The Clugniacs, when travelling were wont to beguile the whole distance with chanting the Psalms, in order partly to prevent evil thoughts and vain discourse. No weariness of the way, nor robber demonstration, could check this exercise.‡

The Golden Commentary of Gerhohus the Great (1093-1169 A.D.) is of unspeakable value. Prior of Reichersperg its author was the most celebrated German theologian of that latter age; and he flings himself on its horrible corruption with a vigour and force which render him a worthy follower of S. Gregory VII and S. Peter Damiani. Like S. Augustine against the Donatists, he turns the Psalms against the flagrant vices and especially the Simony of his own age, in a way which imparts great novelty, as well as great earnestness, to his words.§

S. Olaf and the Psalms.—There are so many stories about Olaf's journeys up and down the country to preach Christianity at the Thingsteads, that I hardly know which to choose to tell you.

He used to ride about from place to place, followed by his band, *singing Psalms* in a loud voice as he went. The tradition of the country declares that the old heathen powers, evil spirits of the air, familiar genii hidden in woods and waters and lowly mountain glens, were vanquished and driven back by the holy words of the royal singer as effectually as

* *Apostles of Mediæval Europe*, p. 170.

† *The Biblical Museum*, Vol. XI, p. 22.

‡ *The Biblical Museum*, Vol. XI, p. 23.

§ *Dr. Neale's Commentary*, Vol. I, p. 79.

the assembled at the Thingsteads were convinced by his reasoning, or overawed at the sight of his armed forces.*

Wilfrid, Bishop of York (A.D. 680), was thrown into prison by command of the king of Northumbria (Egfrid) and council because he had been to Rome to urge his claims to the see of York. He returned to Northumbria bringing the decree which had been made by the Apostolic see. It bore the "bullae" and the seals attached to it, which were the marks of its authenticity; but for all that it was received with all marks of contumely by the 'Witan.' The end of it all was that Wilfrid was thrown into prison. None of his friends were permitted to visit him in his prison cell, and in this captivity he remained for nine months. But he never lost heart. In a dark and gloomy dungeon into which the sun rarely shone, and where no artificial light was permitted him, he chanted his Psalter with unfailing regularity. Egfrid tried in vain to bring him to submission, and promised to re-instate him as Bishop of a portion at least, of the diocese he had heretofore ruled, and added other offers, if only he would repudiate the authority of the decree he had brought from Rome. Wilfrid was, however, obstinate, but in the end he gained his liberty although it meant banishment from Northumbria.†

Margaret, Duchess of Alençon.—"You ask me," writes Margaret,, Duchess of Alençon, the favourite sister of Francis I of France, and a devoted Christian woman. "You ask me, my children, to do a very difficult thing—to invent a diversion that will drive away your *ennui*. I have been seeking all my life to invent this; but I have found only one remedy, which is reading the Holy Scriptures. In perusing them, my mind experiences its true and perfect joy; and from this pleasure of the mind proceed the repose and health of the body. If you desire me to tell you what I do to be so gay and well, at my advanced age, it is because as soon as I get up, I read those sacred books. There I see and contemplate the will of God, who sent His Son to us on earth to preach that holy word, and to announce the sweet tidings that He promises to pardon our sins, and extinguish our debts, by giving us His Son, who loved us, and suffered and died for our sakes. This idea so delights me that I take up the Psalms, and sing them with my heart, and pronounce them with my tongue, as humbly as possible, the fine hymns with which the Holy Spirit inspired David and the sacred authors. The

* *Early Scandinavian History, Vol. II, Monthly Packet, page 17.*

† *Diocesan History of York, page 65.*

pleasure I receive from this exercise so transports me, that I consider all the evils which may happen to me through the day to be real blessings, for I place Him in my heart by faith who endured more misery for me. Before I sup, I retire in the same manner to give my soul a congenial lesson. At night I review all that I have done in the day. I implore pardon for my faults; I thank my God for His favours, and I lie down in His love, in His fear, and in His peace free from every worldly anxiety."

Margaret of Valois.—Queen of Navarre—wrote a book called *Le Miroir d'une Ame Pêcheresse* full of quotations from the Psalms, but without a word of Purgatory or the Saints. Noel Beda, one of the chief doctors of the Sorbonne, saw heresy in this, and encouraged the scholars of the College of Navarre to act a play in which she was caricatured; and a Franciscan declared that she ought to be put into a sack and thrown into the Seine.

Archbishop Laud.—(1573-1644) Laud in all difficulties and trials had yet confidence in his God. "All sides think themselves in ye right, and yet there is a quietness and depth in ye Church's confidence in the right of her side, which her opponents want. The most perfect tranquil assurance that he is to fight against the enemies of God appear in Laud's devotion; and a career of simple religious sincerity, doing what it thinks its mere duty and work is their substratum."

He expresses his weariness and his longing in the prayer of S. Augustine. "Long time, O Lord have I struggled against heresies, and am almost wearied. Come Lord Jesus, mightiest Warrior Prince of the host of the Lord, conqueror of the Devil and of the world: take arms and shield, and rise up and help me."

"Tempore adverso"—"Auxilium"—"Deliverance" appear at the margin of the prayer "Deal with me O God, according to thy Name, for sweet is Thy mercy. O deliver me, for I am helpless and poor, and my heart is wounded within me." "Mine eyes are ever looking unto Thee, O Lord; O pluck my feet out of the net." "I deal with the thing that is lawful and right O give me not over unto mine oppressors." "Let the proud do me no wrong." "I have heard the blasphemy of the multitude and fear is on every side." "Thou hast fed me with the bread of tears, and given me plenteousness of tears to drink." "I am become a very strife unto my neighbours, and mine enemies laugh me to scorn." "Gracious Father, the life of man is a warfare upon earth; be present with me in the services of my calling. That which

"I cannot foresee, I beseech Thee prevent; that which I cannot withstand, I beseech Thee master; that which I do not fear I beseech Thee unmask and frustrate. Especially O Lord, bless me at this time from M.N., that I may glory Thee for this deliverance also."*

The great scholar, Casaubon,—whose life has recently been made of such interest to Oxford men by a writer who singularly combines industry with refinement—was going to the Huguenot worship at Charenton in an open barge, August 20, 1668. A heavy boat ran in astern. His wife fell over into the Seine, but he pulled her in,—after almost losing his own life, at the same time he dropped into the river his Psalm Book, the gift of his wife, his constant companion for twenty-two years, out of which they were singing the 86th Psalm when the accident occurred. "I could not but remember," says Casaubon, in his journal, "that place of Ambrose where he says—This is the peculiarity of the Psalter, that every one can use its words as if they were peculiarly and individually his own."†

John Locke, the great philosopher (1632—1704) spent the last year of his life at Oates in Essex, the seat of Sir Francis Masham. He was hearing Lady Masham *reading the Psalms*, apparently with great attention, until perceiving his end to draw near, he stopped her and expired a very few minutes afterward.‡

The Psalms in trouble.—*Mr. John Philpot* having lain for some time in the Bishop of London's coal-house, the Bishop sent for him, and amongst other questions, asked him why they were so merry in prison? Singing (as the prophet speaks) *Exultantes in rebus pessimis*, rejoicing in your naughtiness, whereas you should rather lament and be sorry. Mr. Philpot answered, "My Lord, the mirth which we make is but in singing certain Psalms as we are commanded by Paul to rejoice in the Lord, singing together hymns and Psalms, for we are in a dark comfortless place, and therefore, we thus solace ourselves. I trust, therefore, your lordship will not be angry, seeing the Apostle saith, 'If any be of an upright heart, let him sing Psalms,' and we, to declare that we are of an upright mind to God, though we are in misery, yet refresh ourselves with such singing." After some other discourse, saith he 'I was carried back to my Lord's coal-

* Mozley's *Archbishop Laud*, p. 150.

† *The Witness of Psalms to Christianity*, p. 245.

‡ Lord King's *Life of Locke*, p. 264.

house, where I, with my six fellow prisoners, do rouse together in the straw, as cheerfully (I thank God) as others do in their beds of down.*

Mrs. Ferrar and the Psalms—Dr. Lindsell, Bishop of Hereford, the lifelong friend of Mrs. Ferrar (whom he held in such affectionate regard that he was himself accustomed to call her "mother"), and the tutor of her son Nicholas, gives a pleasant picture of the household in its happy early time when the "mother was constantly to be found sitting at work with her children and maids around her *singing psalms* with them, and hearing them read chapters in the Bible, and stories from the "Book of Martyrs," the *Acta Sanctorum* of those days.†

Nicholas Ferrar and the Psalter.—Nicholas Ferrar, of Little-Gidding, and of pious and blessed memory was an active graceful child, quick witted, gifted with a strong memory, and great perseverance (*he had the Psalter by heart* at seven or eight years old), and the precocious love of books which often accompanies delicate health. His brother relates that he would often forget his meals while he pored over the "English," or the "Book of Martyrs," quaint old folios which were new then and of which the last had a touch of personal interest. The little boy learnt by heart the story of Robert Ferrar, Bishop of S. David's, burnt at Carmarthen in 1555, 'for his name's sake,' though it does not appear that there was any relationship.‡

Salmasius.—"I have lost a world of time," said the learned Salmasius, on his death-bed; "if I had one year more, I would spend it in reading David's Psalms, and Paul's Epistles."§

Wallace.—So dear to Wallace in his wanderings was his Psalter, that during his execution, he had it hung before him, and his eyes remained fixed upon it as the one consolation of his dying hours. ||

Burleigh.—Lord Burleigh selected the Psalms out of the whole Bible as his special delight.¶

Sir Patrick Hume, when, hid in the sepulchral vault, he had no light to read by, having committed to memory Buchanan's

* Samuel Clarke's '*Mirror*,' 1671.

† *Life of Nicholas Ferrar* edited by Canon Carter, p. 7.

‡ *Life of Nicholas Ferrar*, p. 9.

§ Horne on *The Psalms*, Pref. p. lx.

|| Tytler's *Scottish Worthies*, I, 280.

¶ Strype's *Parker* ii, 214.

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version of the Psalms, beguiled the weary hours of his confinement by repeating them to himself, and, to his dying day, he could repeat every one without missing a word, and said they had been the great comfort of his life by night and day on all occasions.*

Edward Irving's comfort in the Psalms.—There lies a man (says Mrs. Oliphant), buried in Glasgow Cathedral, who trusted God to extremity and believed in all Divine communication, with faith as absolute as any patriarch or prophet; to whom mean thoughts and unbelieving hearts were the only things miraculous and out of nature; who desired to know nothing in heaven or earth, neither comfort, nor peace, nor rest, nor any consolation but the will and work of his Master whom he loved—yet to whose arms children clung with instinctive trust, and to whose heart no soul in trouble ever appealed in vain. He was laid in his grave in the December of 1834—a lifetime since; but scarce any man who knew him can yet name without a softened voice and dimmed eye the name of Edward Irving—true friend and tender heart—martyr and saint. In a letter to his wife, dated Flint, October 12th, 1834, on his last journey through Scotland on the Mission to establish the Church which now bears his name, Edward Irving writes:—‘How in the night season the Psalms have been my consolation against the faintings of flesh and heart.’†

Heylin and the Psalms.—Heylin, one of the most learned and voluminous polemical writers of his day, presented to the lady who afterwards became his wife, a very richly gilded Bible in which he had a beautiful copy of verses, one of which is as follows—

Much reading may thy spirits wrong,
Refresh them therefore with a song;
And, that thy music praise may merit,
Sing David's Psalms with David's spirit;
That as thy voice doth pierce man's ears,
So shall thy prayer and vows the spheres.‡

The Psalms and the Indian Mutiny.—“There is not a day in which we do not find something in the Psalms that appears written especially for our unhappy circumstances, to meet the wants and feelings of the day.”§

* *Life of Sir P. Hume by his daughter*, p. 78.

† *Edward Irving* by Mrs. Oliphant, p. 420.

‡ *Annotation on the Psalms* by Dr. Hammond, ii, p. 96.

§ *Edward's Personal Narrative of the Indian Mutiny*, pp. 145, 165.

Commodore Goodenough.—died from the wounds received from poisoned arrows at Santa Cruz—the same island in the Southern Pacific on which the martyr Bishop, John Coleridge Patteson met his death. During the last few days of his life Commodore Goodenough dwelt much on the vastness of God's love, and was anxious that he should be read to from the *Book of Psalms*.

A learned Brahmin Pundit has lately become a convert to the Gospel. From his acknowledged eminence as a Sanscrit scholar it was expected that he would first study the Greek of the New Testament as its cognate language.

But his love for the Psalter is so deep that he has first devoted himself to Hebrew. For in the Psalter he finds Christ and the Gospel; and, without that, he would, no doubt, prefer the ancient Hymns of his race and country. *

Mrs. Tait and the Psalms.—I remember no happier time than when with the two little girls living in a cottage along Ambleside, in the bright days of a summer vacation, we wandered together among the mountains, I watched the glorious sunset from Harrison's Terrace. She was indeed a sweet companion for such wanderings, she knew almost every Psalm by heart; her mind was stored with the old hymns she had learned in childhood and passages of Cowper which had been her father's delight. †

Bishop Field of Newfoundland and the Psalms.—A traveller in North America has recorded the circumstance that, while resting at a lonely inn, he was roused at night by the sound of a solitary voice chanting the Psalms. The next morning he made enquiries as to the source of sounds so unwonted, and learned that his fellow-traveller who had so disturbed him was the Bishop of Newfoundland; the incident formed the theme of the following verses, which appeared with the well-known initials of the authoress in the "Churchman's Companion" for 1848:—

Wake, wanderer, wake, a solemn voice,
Chants softly to the chill night air,
In old familiar melody
Sweet strains of praise and prayer,

Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity, p. 68.
Catherine and Crawford Tait, p. 24.

Such strains as in thine own dear land,
Unnumbered voices love to sing,
When, morn and eve, the Bride of Heaven,
Brings homage to her King. "

Here are no old Collegiate walls,
No mighty minster fair and strong ;
Whence caught this wild North-Western waste,
The Church's Evensong ?

Sleep, wanderer, sleep, thy mother's hand,
Is stretched to guard her wandering child ;
Her shepherd waketh for the flock,
Far scattered in the wild.

'Tis meet his voice should linger here,
Chanting alone the dear old lay,
Who beareth from the dear old land,
High spiritual sway.

'Tis meet his deep unwearied tone,
Still night and day her songs renew,
Like strain thrice echoed from the hills,
Whose every note is true.

Head of the Church ! for ever hear,—
Hear Thou Thy servant's evening hymn ;
Give that lone voice a power to raise,
From sleep more dark and dim.

Be it a witness to thy name,
For truth, for love, for order dear,
Charming the sinner from his path,
Soothing the exile's car.

It dies beneath the wide grey heaven,
It dies along the silent plain,
No answering flock, no deep voiced choir,
Take up the solemn strain.

Yet patience, strong and holy heart,
Nor doubt the full response shall come ;
Still waken with thy lonely note,
The desert dark and dumb.

Deep down the course of coming years
That chord shall vibrate once again,

And ages yet unborn shall hear.
That slumbering Amen.

C. F. H.

Bishop Field was an Apostolic Bishop, it may be doubted whether during the 32 years of his episcopate, he was absent from his Diocese much more than as many weeks. He died June 8th, 1876.*

George Herbert.

The Fineness, which a Hymn or Psalm affords
Is, when the soul unto the lines accords.

Robert S. Hawker (of Morwenstow).

'Sing from the chamber to the grave !'
Thus did the dead man say :
A sound of melody I crave,
Upon my burial day

'Sing from the threshold to the porch !
Until you hear the bell :
And sing you loudly in the Church,
The Psalms I love so well.

Then bear me gently to my grave,
And as you pass along,
Remember 'twas my wish to have
A pleasant funeral song.'

Robert S. Hawker.

M. A. (Cambridge).

* *The Life of Bishop Field*, pp. 296, 299.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report of the Commissioner of Education (United States) for 1900—1901. (Government Printing Office, Washington.)

WHATEVER an American Report may be, it is never in our experience, dull—nor does it follow tamely in the wake of other countries, or of former Reports of its own land. In matters educational, Germany and America may be owned to have the lead. The mere chapter on "Educational Pathology," the mere name of the chapter is sufficient to show the character of the whole, only to be described by the slang term "go-ahead." The chapter opens with the remark that "While formerly education for the masses consisted in the acquisition of elementary knowledge and the training of children normally endowed, it directs its attention now also to the unfortunate, the weak and depraved, and tries to save those for a life of usefulness who were formerly treated as criminals. The blind and deaf-mutes are now treated rationally in State institutions, and the mentally weak are educated to the limits of their capacity. This serves the double purpose of saving the children from confirmed idiocy brought about by neglect, and of freeing the ordinary schools from an incubus that tends to retard the progress of all the pupils. Other agencies are awakening to the necessity of healing and preventing social diseases rather than punishing and incarcerating dangerous elements that cause the disease or are subject to it. This is done by reform schools and other institutions such as children's courts (in Germany) and homes of refuge for children in disgrace or distress. All this is analogous to the progress of physical hygiene. Formerly the State rather stamped out disease with fire and sword than prevented the spread of disease and epidemics by quarantine and actually preventive agencies, as is done now. This prevention of social disease assumes a variety of forms. In the last Annual Report of this Bureau an account was given of public play grounds in city parks, and of summer play schools designed to keep children from the influence of the slums and to awaken in them higher and nobler ideals of life."

Interesting details are given of various institutions attempting to train and reform boys by republican systems of self-government, and also of children's courts in Massachusetts and other

States, which deal with all cases of crime in children under sixteen. The work of a young philanthropist, David Willard, in New York, is fully described. He devotes himself to "settlement work among poor boys" in the lower east side of New York and is a teacher in the Tombs prison, which was till recently a disgrace to civilisation. The Judges in the Court of Special Sessions "have great confidence in Mr. Willard's judgment in the cases of boys and young men, and they parole all offenders between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one for one month in his custody. Mr. Willard enquires into their antecedents, and if he thinks the boy can be reclaimed he so reports and the prisoner is usually released under suspended sentence. The parole system however puts the boy back in 'that devil's kinder garden, the city streets.' Another recourse is to place the boy in some charitable institution, but this plan sometimes proves worse than the other. The children who have been assisted by the Children's Aid Society show the greatest percentage of arrests for crime among those who came from institutions. The petty crimes they committed were largely due to want of worldly experience—a difficulty in distinguishing right from wrong."

The details of the "Cottage Row" in the Farm School which was originally the Boston Asylum for Indigent Boys contain many suggestions for those responsible for School for Native Christian children in India. The boys were on one occasion given some old bed-ticking to play with and proceeded to make it into tents, in which they collected their treasures. The sensible superintendent saw the germ of training of a good citizen in the notion and now the tents have developed into a settlement of cottages with Town Hall, Zoological Gardens, Mayor, Aldermen, Police, Judge and Jury. Culprits are tried and sentenced, defended by counsel and punished in most practical ways. One boy who was convicted of breaking a window was sentenced to mend all the broken glass in the entire "city." Another found annoying the goat, was condemned to feed and water her for a month. The cottages are repaired, furnished and decorated by the boys themselves. The whole scheme gives them a form of home life and the joys of privacy and personal possession which are natural human instincts—in fact to a certain extent belong to the higher animal instincts—usually much to seek in institution life. Is it because those responsible for Indian schools are either married people with homes of their own, whose personal happiness blinds them to its constituent elements, or else unmarried and devout people, practically monks and nuns,

who forget that whatever may be said for community life when voluntarily undertaken for religious purposes by adults is not the method instituted by the Creator for the upbringing of the young. That the great founders of Catholic Religious Communities recognized this fact to a great extent is shown by the family names in use, "Father, Mother, Brother, Sister;" and the tender little traits shown by the greatest among them, give the secret of the success of their early days. St. Dominic's going round on cold nights to see that his sons had a blanket even if he had none, is a case in point. One glaring instance of the failure of so many to recognize that the natural home is an ideal to be copied as much as possible when organizing charitable institutions, is in the usual failure to allow widows who have to earn their living as teachers or nurses to retain their children with them, or at least to have them for holidays.

We recently had put into our hands the rules of a certain Hospital, evidently based on rules in force at home. One stated explicitly that though the period of training was for three years, no nurse was to bring children with her. At the same time the rules had a high moral tone and gave evidence that any grave moral transgression would be promptly followed by dismissal. The Hospital was not a Government Institution but one with the avowed object of assisting Indian women and children. It is strange that the framer of such rules should be so charitable to the general public of Indian women and children and so uncharitable to the special cases of such of them as were not patients but would be nurses and their children. It is also strange that persons of such severe morality should neglect the obvious and natural means of assisting widows (and especially widows of Eastern race) to maintain a high standard of virtue, namely, the presence of their children and the necessity of training them well. The whole mistake is due to a too slavish imitation of Western methods under Eastern conditions. At home nurses are usually the unmarried women with whom Europe teems. Moreover the strict regulation enforced at home as to infectious diseases and education, and the expense of house-room and feeding, would render it next to impossible for the children of nurses to be kept in the ordinary Nurses' Quarters of a Hospital. Here in India these conditions do not obtain; native children at least in their holidays might easily live with their mothers in any Hospital not expressly for infectious diseases. Moreover the barrack-system for women, whether pupils, teachers, or nurses is far worse than for boys or men, as "nature herself teaches," as distinctly as St. Paul says she does with regard to the covering of a woman's head. The

barrack-system may be unavoidable at present for school girls: but for grown women it is to be deprecated. Any little cell is better as a home than a mere bed in a marble-floored dormitory. It must be our English stolid lack of imagination that renders us so far slower than our American cousins in seizing these ideas and acting on them.

The whole Report teems with interest. The section on the Conveyance of Children to School is interesting to us who live in a country where also that difficulty is felt. In many ways American educational difficulties resemble the Indian; *e.g.*, in the great mixtures of races. The question of the compulsory teaching of German and the use of German and Roman Catholic methods in towns full of German Roman Catholics is so important as to fill 177 pages of the Report. The education of the negro forms the subject of a chapter of 127 pages; as also does education in such different places as the Phillippines and Alaska. The catholicity of the Report is exemplified by its chapters on education in other countries, notably in Germany and in England.

The Bureau of Education has not scorned to issue a pamphlet on schools in India. One great feature is that these "chapters" which are practically up to date essays on their respective subjects are written not by the Commissioner of Education, but by specialists in the subjects; and long extracts are given, *e.g.* from an article by Cloudesley Briereton on "A National System of Education" in the *Fortnightly Review* of May 1901. Technical training has a fair share in the Report, and so also, as might be expected in America, has the education of women and the burning question of the co-education of the sexes. The Report therefore forms a most useful handbook to all interested in education in all countries.

Administration Report on the Jails of Bengal, 1902.
Punjab Jail Report, 1902.

MAJOR W. J. Buchanan, Inspector-General of Jails, Bengal, contributes a very thoughtful preface to the statistics which form the bulk of the volume entitled "Report." He notes that during the past ten years there has been a rise in the number of habituals or reconvicted prisoners in jail. "This rise is in accordance with the growth of recidivism which is so marked a feature in the prison statistics of other countries." One source of error in such a conclusion is the number of cases imprisoned for "bad livelihood." The great objection of police supervision of discharged prisoners is that it greatly impedes their chance of honest livelihood; if this is the case at home, it is tenfold more the case here

where a discharged prisoner, warned by his first conviction and anxious for an honest living, may be summoned out of his employer's house by a passing *parawallah*, as a *purana chor*, and told that unless he produces *bakshish* he will be hauled up at the nearest thana for bad livelihood. Such incidents are not contemplated by the law but that they must occur is plain to everyone acquainted with the Indian native of the class in question, although it may be difficult for an official to detect such cases. "Give a dog a bad name and hang him" is one method in dealing with cases of "bad livelihood." If such cases were deducted, the total of re-convicted prisoners in jail would not be so high. The fact however that in all countries the proportion of reconvictions is not only high, but increasing and particularly so amongst women shows that a great change is needed in the shape of enforcing a great difference in the treatment of first offenders and of habituels. Privileges should be accorded to first offenders (might we suggest a greater reduction in the length of sentence by the Judges, exemption from flogging in prison except for assault, and some increase in creature comforts such as the permission to smoke or chew tobacco?) which are not allowed to second offenders. On the other hand, offenders convicted more than thrice might well be looked on as degenerates requiring life imprisonment under conditions approximating to those of a Lunatic Asylum, but involving forced labour. The day of thrashing lunatics into submission is over; they of course have not to be forced to work although work is very desirable for them, but kindness and the payment of small wages which might be used for the purchase of creature comforts, as practised in our leper asylums and in the Elvira Adult and many juvenile Reformatories, might be found much more effective in maintaining discipline and would more befit an age scientific enough to produce Lombroso and Max Nordau. Even the stern discipline of an ascetic monasticism had feasts as well as fasts, and a superior whose title of "Father" showed the ideal at least of Government.

A recent paper on the subject of Jail Punishments in this Review quoted an ex-convict's approval of the "cat." A wonderfully sensible book published about 1880 entitled "Five years' Penal Servitude" made the excellent suggestion that in the case of first offenders, sentences were far too long; that the disgrace and ruin involved were punishment enough, whereas in a re-conviction the disgrace is hardly felt and the jail may be a sort of a refuge to a ruined man who has lost his power to battle in the world. He also suggests that a short sentence, say of a year, would admit of severer discipline than a long sentence. While pleading for shorter sentences

for all first offenders, except such as seem degenerates (and these should rather be treated as criminal lunatics at once) the habit observable among Judges of inflicting heavy sentences such as five years' penal servitude, for trifling offences against property, in the case of an old offender, is to be deprecated on public grounds. It would be better to commit a habitual thief to prison for life where at least he could not hand on his criminal propensities to his offspring, and to make a skilled workman of him, than to let him out at intervals to commit depredations on the public which then had to pay for his keep (and probably that of his wife and children, in countries with a Poor Law,) for a span of years, when it was once demonstrated that no span of years could reform him.

The suggestion made recently by Lord William Neville that Judges would be all the better of a little experience of what prison actually is, at least as an official, (since experience as a prisoner though useful, would be a Utopian idea, fit only for a Gilbert and Sullivan Opera) has a great deal to be said for it. The inequality of sentences according to the idiosyncrasy of the Judge is notorious and has formed the subject of excellent essays in some leading Reviews during the last twenty years. These remarks are suggested not so much by the Government Reports under review, as by the ordinary newspaper criticisms on similar Reports. A review should be something more than a digest. The digest may give the ordinary newspaper reader a summary of the main facts and statistics of the Criminal Justice of a country, but without some intelligent criticism it fails in one of the chief duties of an enlightened press, the bringing to bear of independent observation and judgment on the officials who administer the laws, and on those who make or alter the laws. We are far from echoing Pope's dictum that "Whatever is, is right;" yet so far as newspaper criticism of Criminal Justice is concerned (except now and then in some flagrant case, where possibly the interest is more sentimental than just) one might imagine that the last word had been said not only at home but in India as to the best method of preventing crime and of reforming the criminal. In the twentieth century it should be impossible to report that "three prisoners received on transfer from other jails, came direct to Hospital, and died within a few days or weeks—two lepers died of leprosy and *one female under-trial came to the under-trial ward in a state of advanced consumption and died in jail.*" Some more humane method than a common jail might be found for persons so sorely visited by the hand of God. Neither should it be possible to report of any jail as of that at Barisal "with three such factors as persistent overcrowding, bad water

supply and bad health on admission, it is not surprising that we have bad results." No jail should be established where the water supply is bad, and as the Inspector-General of Jails suggests that "the water difficulty may be got over in a year or so when municipal water works have been started," it may be asked if Government has no power to insist on the starting of such works. In any case overcrowding is culpable; and long sentences, or sentences of imprisonment for small offences which might possibly be otherwise dealt with, should be charily inflicted in a district where ill-health may well drive many to petty dishonesties.

Major Buchanan's remarks on the Marks and Remission system show that like Lieut.-Col. Bate of the Punjab he does not consider that the last has been said for humanity in the way of prison discipline. "If a system could be introduced whereby ordinary marks given for doing nothing in particular or mere negative good conduct were abolished, and marks only given for extra or continued good work and good conduct, I can conceive the system being of greater utility; but it would be difficult to avoid a large degree of favouritism if the selection were left in the hands of the subordinate officers of a jail. It is, however, probable that if a prisoner were able by extra work to earn a certain amount of money gratuity to be given him on release" (we think Lieut.-Col. Bate's suggestion that some immediate increase in creature comforts would be more effectual with most men, else why can most men in the every-day world be induced to work but few to save?) "Such a system might well prove more effective than the present system of shortening sentences. This system obtains in other countries, I understand. While it might be advisable to retain a modified remission system along with a gratuity-earning system in case of first offenders, I would be inclined to abolish the remission system for habituals or persons with more than one (or two) convictions. It is seldom for his own benefit to release a habitual prematurely, and it is certainly not for the benefit of society, but if the habituals felt that by steady hard work and good conduct they could earn a little money which would help them to make another start in life, it would, in my opinion, be a greater incentive to good behaviour and good work than the prospect of a few days' earlier release."

This whole question of aid given whether as charity or as deferred wages to prisoners on leaving is one that needs looking into. Major Buchanan rightly remarks that Rs. 3,500 from the Claude Martin Fund to assist 2,374 released convicts during the year, shows that the Fund is too small to be of much real benefit in assisting a released prisoner to start

again in life. But the liberal tone of the remarks of both the new Inspector-General of Jails, Bengal, and the Inspector-General of Jails, Punjab, raise in one's mind the desire that it were possible to have a conference of higher prison officials in India, and a similar one from time to time at home.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Botticelli. By A. Streeter. (Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture. George Bell and Sons. pp. 167.)

A MONOGRAPH on the life and works of Botticelli at the very moderate price of Rs. 5 with excellent photographs of his most typical pictures, is a boon to the picture-lover, and especially the picture-lover in Oriental exile. To such an one the Suez Canal represents more than a short route home, it represents a possible route home *via* Italy. It is only of recent years that Botticelli has come to the front amongst the artists of the Renaissance. Ruskin does not mention one of his works or even his name, so far as the writer can recollect, in his "Modern Painters." And yet he stands midway between the period when "art was employed for the display of religious facts," and that, extending to the present day unfortunately, when "religious facts are employed for the display of art." A glaring instance of this dictum of Ruskin's may be found in the gallery of modern paintings at Dresden, where a life size picture of the crucifixion is arranged so as to be visible through the length of a long corridor of rooms, mainly to display the Magdalene's hair.

Botticelli's Virgins are not "The crowned Queen Virgins of Perugino," but neither have they "sunk into the simple Italian mother of Raphaël's Madonna of the Chair." His "Annunciation," for instance, though not marked by "the glittering childishness of the older art, and the desire to point out the treasures of earth at the Virgin's feet," does not regard her as "an available subject for the display of transparent shadows, skilful tints, and scientific foreshortenings, as a fair woman forming, if well painted, a pleasant piece of furniture for the corner of a boudoir and best imagined by combination of the beauties of the prettiest Contadinas." Yet at the same time it is Botticelli who excels in the depiction of movement. His Angel of the Annunciation has just alighted from his flight from Heaven, his draperies still quivering from the eager haste of his delightful errand. The art of it is as high as the religion of it is deep. And his Virgin is not the hysterical frightened school-girl of modern pictures, but a grave full grown woman, here sacrificing likelihood to inner meaning. Modern art is realistic and emphasizes the fact that Jewish girls were married early: Botticelli (or the pupil of his who possibly painted the Virgin in this picture) recog-

nizes that the Virgin of the Magnificat may be young in this world's years, but is mature in heavenly wisdom. Yet Botticelli is a consummate master of line, as Mr. Streeter points out. He is uncertain in his colouring, often defective in his modelling, and indifferent to effects of light, but he is the first great decorative painter of Italy, the father of the æsthetic (as distinguished from the devotional, and from the scientific) school in art.

Mr. Streeter well brings out the "double-mind of the Renaissance" exemplifying it by the melancholy alike of Botticelli's Virgin and of his Venus: "the one has missed earth, the other Heaven." "*Quattrocento* while still clinging to the faith it had inherited from mediævalism, perpetually contrasted this faith with the new conception of life it had acquired from its discovery of antiquity." This double-mind is an artistic expression of the conflict so often observable in Europeans in the East, when their childhood's faith stands face to face with the persisting non-Christian faiths of the land of their adoption. "Never, perhaps," says Mr. Streeter, "had the Religion of the Cross been so clearly recognized as a *religion of renunciation*" (the italics are ours) "as now when, strictly interpreted, it stood forth in threatening antagonism to the alluring ideals of pagan life of thought." The only danger to the Christian mind in *India* is where its faith has not been taught as a religion of renunciation; renunciation is not altogether absent from the faiths of old Egypt and Greece, but it is not nearly so apparent as in Hinduism and Buddhism and even in that corrupt offshoot of Christianity, Islam; and a Christianity without renunciation will not only never convert India but is bound to go to pieces when confronted with the ascetic religions of the East.

Fauna of British India. Hymenoptera. Vol. II. Ants and Cuckoo-Wasps by Lieut.-Col. C. T. Bingham (Thacker, Spink & Co. pp. 506.)

THE present is the last instalment to date of a series published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India. The Ants of India, Ceylon and Burma are numerous and have received considerable attention of recent years. This volume deals fully with them and with the Chrysididae, which latter are illustrated by the single coloured plate in the book. The dull coloured Ants are sufficiently represented by black and white drawings, which are very clear. Lieut.-Col. Bingham's first volume appeared in 1897, and comprised the Bees and Wasps. The author very sensibly gives in his Introduction the names of several works on the habits of the insects whose morphology is his own proper

subject. To the public in general the habits of animals are more interesting and more easily observed than their anatomy. There is a danger in the modern cramming system that boys and girls may take their B. Sc. degree and have only a laboratory knowledge of zoology. Field work is very essential, and the reading of treatises such as Lieut.-Col. Bingham recommends, as well as the study of such careful works as the volume before us. Special mention is made of Dr. Ford's contributions on the subject of Indian Ants to the Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society. The book under review opens with the sub-family Dorylinæ, the chief interest of which is the great difference between the male, female and neuter or worker. The male is a large wasp-like insect possessed of well-developed eyes and ocelli; the neuter is blind; the female is apterous and blind, with an immensely developed abdomen a little resembling a female termite. They form their nests in the ground, sometimes at a considerable depth. In India and Burmah the male is a well-known insect, coming freely in the evening into houses to the lights. It is not unfrequently taken for a wasp and there is a night-flying wasp, *Vespa doryllodes*, which, as the name implies, resembles the male *Dorylus*. An interesting feature of the genus *Chrysis* is that all its species are parasitic on fossorial and other Hymenoptera. One species, *Chrysis shanghadensis*, has been reared from the cocoons of a moth *Monema flavescens*; but Lieut.-Col. Bingham considers that this is probably a case of double parasitism, the *Chrysis* being parasitic on an Ichneumon, itself a parasite of the moth. Mr. Horace Knight's coloured illustrations of the Chrysididæ are exceedingly well done.

GOVINDA CHANDRA GITA. The text of this work is a manuscript, which bears the date Bengali 1206 and is therefore just over a hundred years old; the manuscript, however, is a copy of an older work by Durlav Mallik, which probably belongs to the fourteenth century. The Editor of the present work, Babu Shib Chandra Sil, claims for the original the honour of being the earliest historical poem extant in the Bengali language. Certain internal features indicate the period in which it was written and that with which it deals. The use in the poem of some Arabic words shows that at the time Mohamedan influence had already made some impression in Bengal. The incidents it records show that at the time of Govinda Chandra others than Brahmins were recognised as leaders of Hindu religious thought. We seem to trace in this fact the effects of Buddhistic teaching

on Hinduism, and this gives an additional interest to the poem.

The poem deals with the latter part of the life of Govinda Chandra, Raja of Kalinga, who was defeated in battle by Bijoy Sen in 1092 A. D. A great *jogi*, Hadipa, having incurred the wrath of his *guru*, was doomed to live as a sweeper (*hari*, hence perhaps his name), and he spent such a life in the stables of Govinda Chandra. The Rajah's mother, having witnessed some extraordinary feats performed by Hadipa, urged her son to become his disciple. Overcoming after much effort his natural scruples to accept a low menial as a *guru*, the Rajah went through the many ordeals to which Hadipa subjected him in order to test his sincerity. When, however, the Rajah had acquired powers similar to those of the *jogi* he fell under his sore displeasure for making a display of these powers before the Ranees, and was deprived of them by Hadipa. The Raja retaliated by having Hadipa buried alive, and in this state he remained for 12 years until he was exhumed by his disciple Kanupa. The irate Hadipa's revenge was averted by the penitence of the Raja, who eventually retired to the Deccan as a Vaishnav.

The language and style of the original poem as well as the absence from it of anything like true poetry or deep philosophy shows that it was intended for the masses rather than the educated classes.

The Editor of the book under review deserves much praise for the great powers of research of which he has given proof in valuable and lengthy notes. He has done a good work in adding a short chapter to the records of ancient Bengal. The publication of such a book is an encouraging sign that the people of Bengal are beginning to take a real interest in literary matters concerning their country.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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
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Principal of the Madras Christian College and Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University.

IN this monograph, as in his earlier studies of *King Lear*, *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*, Dr. Miller directs attention mainly to the moral truths illustrated in the Drama, maintaining these to be its proper centre from the artistic as well as the practical point of view. In delineating Othello and Desdemona, he points out that, along with much that was good and noble, there were defects and faults in both which opened the way for all the calamities that came on them. He describes at considerable length the organic connection between these defects and faults and the terrible catastrophe of the play. At the same time, he denies that in the ordinary meaning of the word, the sufferers can be said to deserve their fate. Iago he regards as the willing instrument of those evil powers which are always ready to take advantage of the openings which the want of watchful care on the part even of the best too often yield. Dr. Miller looks upon "Othello" as a revelation of forces which "more or less strongly affect the inner life of every man," and maintains that the way in which those forces are disentangled in it "from all that is accidental or superficial will be held by those who read wisely to be full compensation for the pain which the study of so unrelieved a tragedy must cause."

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HAMLET AND THE WASTE OF LIFE.

IN this new criticism of a much-criticized play, Dr. Miller, after some introductory observation, re-states his views as to the central idea in all Shakespear's greater dramas being moral, and as to the moral benefit which ought to accrue to one who studies them with care. In this light he examines the character of Hamlet and discusses some of the warmly debated questions which cannot be avoided by one who tries to understand it. So far as it goes, Goethe's well-known *dictum* is accepted, *viz.* that, Hamlet being what he is, his appointed task is too hard for him, so that he may be compared to a costly vase cracked, by the growth of a great tree that has been planted in it. Dr. Miller contends, however, that for a full understanding of the play it is necessary to inquire what constitutes the greatness of the tree, and what special weakness results in the cracking of the vase. To this inquiry a large section of the work is given.

After treating of the characters of the subordinate personages in the play, especially of those who serve as foils to Hamlet, Dr. Miller draws a comparison between the Prince of Denmark and Indian students, of whom he says that "if they have something of Hamlet's strength, they have lamentably much of Hamlet's weakness." He closes with a brief statement of the main lesson which he thinks Young India may learn from the most widely known of all the works of Shakespear.

MACBETH AND THE RUIN OF SOULS.

THE book starts with a discussion of the materials on which the tragedy is based. It states the two great principles which the writer regards as determining the general outline of Shakespear's plan in his pictures of life and character. It regards the history of Macbeth as being in the main a study of how evil when once yielded to gradually induces total moral-ruin. It shows how the central "business" of the play is to mark the steps by which, and the influences under which, a man who at first appears worthy of admiration becomes all that a man ought not to be. After tracing the moral ruin of Macbeth, it shows how a different process Lady Macbeth arrives at an equally lamentable end. It then discusses each of the other characters in sufficient detail to show how the assaults of evil upon each of them are baffled on the one hand or are successful on the other. The book arrives at the conclusion that it is "as a supreme example of the strife which rages endlessly and everywhere on earth between the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of hell that *Macbeth* holds the place of the most solemnly instructive of the gifts of Literature to the generations of weak humanity."

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October 1903.

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ART. I.—A HISTORY OF THE BENGAL HIGH COURT.

(Continued from April 1903.)

FROM THE TIME OF THE OLD SADAR AND SUPREME COURTS, TOGETHER
WITH NOTICES OF EMINENT JUDGES, BARRISTERS AND VAKILS.

CHAPTER V

NOTICES OF EMINENT JUDGES OF THE SADAR COURTS

ALTHOUGH the Supreme and the Sadar Courts* stood side by side, still they had very little in common between them. Not only did they differ in their origin, the systems which governed them were entirely different, and the Judges too who presided in them were of different character and qualifications. The Supreme Court was established by Royal Charter and was called the King's Court; it was, if one might say so, an offshoot from Westminster Hall planted in India. On the other hand, the Sadar Courts were the making of the Court of Directors and were justly styled the Company's Courts. This difference in their origin was only intensified by their difference in constitution. None but a barrister-at-law could ever become a Judge of the Supreme Court, but no such restriction was necessary for a Sadar Judge. Any Civil Servant who had by gradation of service risen sufficiently high in the ladder was entitled to a seat on the bench of the Sadar Court; but however high he might rise and however greatly he might distinguish himself, he could never expect to be made a Judge of the Supreme Court. Even the Governor-General himself, if he was not a member of the recognised Bar, could not claim a seat in the Supreme Court. But though a mere civilian could not become a Supreme Court Judge, there was nothing to prevent a barrister-at-law from becoming a Sadar Judge. This fact is incontestably proved by the case of Sir Elijah Impey who, while presiding at the

* These words, says Sir Henry Maine, have the same meaning, but they indicate very different tribunals. *Village Communities* (1890), Lec. i p. 36.

Supreme Court as its Chief, was also appointed to take the lead in the Sadar Court, notwithstanding that he was not a civilian. True it is that such instances were few and far between, but their paucity did not at all affect the principle which underlay them. Indeed, the East India Company had no authority over the Supreme Court, and, as a matter of fact, some of its principal servants suffered much at the hands of that Court. But not only were the Judges of the two Courts different in their character and qualifications, they were also guided in the discharge of their respective duties by different laws and procedures. English law with all its subtleties and technicalities predominated in the Supreme Court,* but such foreign law had very little influence, if any, in the Sadar Courts. There the native laws as modified by the Company's Rules and Regulations reigned supreme, and where such laws and regulations were found to be wanting in any matter in dispute, the principle of justice, equity and good conscience was brought into play. This being so, it is no wonder that the Sadar Courts were more in touch with the people than the Supreme Court. In point of fact, the Supreme Court in its inception was looked upon with horror and its strange proceedings created quite a panic in the land, and it was long before it could gain the confidence of the people. The Supreme Court Judges were as a rule innocent of the manners and customs of the people whose disputes they were called upon to determine, and the result was that the justice which they administered, though it fulfilled the requirements of law, did not give satisfaction to the parties † concerned. The case was quite otherwise in the Sadar Courts where men who had long been in the country and had acquired considerable experience of the peculiar habits and usages of its inhabitants presided. Much better justice was expected of them, and in most cases such expectation was fulfilled. Generally, the Sadar Judges were taken from the Council, and, as a rule, they proved successful administrators of justice. As the learned

* This continued to be the case even to the very last, for, as Sir Henry Maine observes, "Although a series of statutes and charters provided securities for the application of native law and usage to the cases of their native suitors, and though some of the best treatises on Hindu Law which we possess were written by Supreme Court Judges, it would not be incorrect to say that on the eve of the enactment of the several Indian Codes, the bulk of the Jurisprudence administered by the Supreme Courts consisted of English Law, administered under English procedure." (See *Village Communities*, Lec. ii, p. 36.)

† They had also no hope of getting any relief from the Company's Courts which could not enter into circumstances, legal or equitable, which went to affect the justice of the judgment given by the Supreme Court or of the execution under it. (See *Nobin Kissen Halder vs. Bissumbar Seal*, *Sudder Dewani Reports*, Vol. VI, p. 187.) Every such question was for the cognizance of the Supreme Court only.

author whom we have quoted above, while speaking of the different ways in which native laws and usages were treated in the two Courts, says:—"The Judges of the (Sadar) Court were not lawyers but the most learned civilians in the service of the East India Company, some of whom have left names dear to oriental learning. They were strongly influenced by the Supreme Court which sat in their neighbourhood, but it is curious to watch the different effect which the methods of English law had on the two tribunals. At the touch of the Judge of the Supreme Court, who had been trained in the English School of special pleading, and had probably come to the East in the maturity of life, the rule of native law dissolved and, with or without his intention, was to a great extent replaced by rules having their origin in English law-books. Under the hand of the Judges of the Sudder Courts, who had lived since their boyhood among the people of the country, the native rules hardened, and contracted a rigidity which they never had in real native practice."* When the Sadar Courts were in 1801 established as distinct tribunals separate from the Supreme Council of which they had hitherto formed a part, almost all the Judges were taken from the Council Board. Mr. Peter Speke, as being the oldest civilian then in Council, was made the Chief Judge. But he soon retired, giving his place to Mr. (afterwards Sir George Hilario) Barlow. Thus, the latter was virtually the first Chief Judge of the Sadar Diwani and Sadar Nizamat† Adalat.

Sir George Hilario Barlow.—George H. Barlow was the fourth son of William Barlow, Esquire, of Bath. He was born in the year 1762 and was educated for the Indian Civil Service. He came out to this country as "Writer"‡ in the service of the East India Company in 1779, having been appointed to Bengal in the year preceding. Soon after his arrival at Calcutta, Barlow was attached as Assistant to Mr. Law, Collector of Gaya, and one of the ablest public servants in India. In 1788 Lord Cornwallis made him Sub-Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department. In this Department it was his duty to carry out the famous Permanent Settlement of Bengal,

* *Vide Maine's Village Communities*, Lec. ii, p. 45.

† The expression "Sadar Nizamat," however, has been objected to as not being strictly correct. The word *Sadar* means *Chief* and *Nizamat* is often used to signify *Government*. Hence, "Sadar Nizamat Adalat" is as absurd as it would be to say "Government Royal Court." See Ramaprasad Roy's *Comments on the Code of Civil Procedure*, 3rd Edition, p. 10 note.

‡ The Civil Servants of the East India Company were known as "Writers," and the big house in which they on their arrival in Bengal put up was called *The Writers' Buildings*, a name which has survived the fall of the great Company.

and he was thus brought closely in contact with Mr. John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), a Member of the Supreme Council, and Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General. This great measure was conceived by Cornwallis,* elaborated by Shore, and carried into execution by Barlow. In 1796, Sir John Shore, then Governor-General, made Barlow Chief Secretary to Government. Under Lord Wellesley, who succeeded Sir John, he continued to be Chief Secretary until he became a Member of the Supreme Council in 1801. Barlow was not only a good Revenue Officer, he was also a sound and well-read lawyer. He was Professor of British Law in the Fort William College at Calcutta, the foundation-stone whereof was laid on the 4th of May, 1800, the first anniversary of the fall of Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo Sultan.

Before the year 1801, the Sadar Diwani Adalat † used to be presided over by the Governor-General, assisted by some of the Members of the Council. In that year it was formed into a regular Court having three paid Judges attached to it. The first Chief Judge, as we have already stated, was Peter Speke, who was one of the ablest covenanted servants of the Company and was for many years a Member of the Council. He was, however, Chief Judge only for a short time. On his retirement George Barlow succeeded him. Like his predecessor in office, Barlow was a distinguished Member of the Civil Service, and proved himself very useful to Lord Cornwallis when the latter in his First Administration was engaged in framing those wise and equitable Laws, better known as the Bengal Regulations. In fact, he had the chief hand in manipulating the Code which bore the honored name of that famous Governor-General. Barlow presided in the Sadar Diwani Adalat from 1802 to 1804, during which period he was created a Baronet. In the latter year a change of law taking place in the matter, he reverted to the Council, giving his place in the Court to Henry Thomas Colebrooke.

On the death of Lord Cornwallis at Gazipur on 5th October, 1805, Barlow was appointed Provisional Governor-General, which very high office, the very highest in the land, he held from the 10th October to the last day of July 1807. Again, when in the latter year the law relating to the appointment of Judges of the Sadar Diwani Adalat was placed in *statu quo ante*, he was restored to that Court. This time, too, he did not remain long in it, for on the 24th December he was appointed

* Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of Junius's Letters, also claimed the honour and fought hard for it, but Cornwallis's claim was found to be superior.

† The Sadar Diwani Adalat in its original form was opened on the 18th of March, 1773. See Preface to Shama Charan Sircar's *Vayvastha Darpana*.

Governor of Madras, which Presidency, very inaptly called the 'benighted' Presidency, he ruled till the 21st of May, 1813. But with all his ability and learning Barlow did not prove a successful ruler of men, and, as a matter of fact, fell considerably short of his famous predecessor, Lord William Bentinck, who afterwards became Governor General. During his rule an alarming Mutiny broke out in the Madras army, which it took some time, and exercised considerable efforts, to repress.

Barlow, although he failed as a ruler, acquitted himself well as a dispenser of justice. He was a thorough master of the laws of the land and his judgments showed a happy combination of sound legal knowledge with strong common sense. But however high his reputation was as a judicial officer, it grew dim before his reputation as a law-maker. Indeed, he was more known as a jurist than as a law administrator. He was one of the ornaments of the Indian Civil Service.

In view of the very strong feelings which raged against him in Madras, Barlow was recalled in 1814 after he had passed thirty-four stormy years in this country. He was made G. C. B., and lived till the 22nd of December 1846* when he died at Farnham.

Henry Thomas Colebrooke was born in London on the 15th of June, 1765. His grandfather, James Colebrooke, was the proprietor of a flourishing banking firm till his death which took place in 1752. Not long after, Colebrooke's father, Sir George Colebrooke, succeeded to the management of the firm. But trading concern did not engross his attention, he mixed in politics and obtained a seat in Parliament. He also did some good services to the East India Company, for which he was appointed its Chairman in 1769. This important office he held for a term of four years, during which he did some good turn to Warren Hastings who afterwards rose so very high. Colebrooke's mother was a remarkable lady who possessed talents of a high order and had considerable presence of mind not quite common in her sex. Like Sir William Jones, Colebrooke owed his strong love of reading more to his mother than to his father.

Young Henry was never at any school. He was educated at home by a tutor, and when only fifteen he had attained a considerable mastery over the classical languages, a great command of French, and some knowledge of German. At this age, too, he had laid the foundation of profound mathematical attainments. Sir George's former connection with the East India Company enabled him to procure the appoint-

* In the Dictionary of National Biography, however, it is stated that Barlow died in February 1847.

ment of his two youngest sons as 'writers' on the Bengal establishment. James Edward, who afterwards succeeded to the Baronetcy, preceded his younger brother to India by some years, and was soon after his arrival appointed to an office of confidence by Warren Hastings. Henry, the youngest, followed his brother in 1782. He arrived at Madras in April, 1783, and afterwards came to Calcutta where he put up with his brother, Edward. He remained unemployed in Calcutta for nearly a year, after which he was given a small situation in the Board of Accounts, which gave him only a scanty emolument, and which he held until he was appointed Assistant Collector of Revenue in Tirhoot, in 1786, where he pursued his studies in Eastern science and literature, which bore such good fruits.

From Tirhoot, Colebrooke was transferred to an office of the same grade in Purneah. This transfer, which took place in April, 1789, was made at the solicitation of the Collector of the latter place, who was anxious for the assistance of one whose reputation for official abilities was now well-known. While in Purneah, Colebrooke investigated the resources of that part of the country, and wrote his *Remarks on the Husbandry and Commerce of Bengal** in which he advocated free trade between Great Britain and India, thereby becoming obnoxious to most of the Directors of the East India Company.

From Purneah Colebrooke was sent to Nattore, where he arrived in the middle of August, 1793. He was charged with the collections of the villages dependent on this station. The judicial authority, from which the collections were now separated, was held by Mr. James Grant, who was lately Collector of Bhagulpore. While Colebrooke was at Nattore, the republic of letters suffered a great loss in the death of Sir William Jones which took place at Calcutta in June, 1794. In a letter to his father Colebrooke thus alluded to this melancholy event:—"Since I wrote to you, the world has sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Sir William Jones. As a Judge, as a constitutional lawyer, and for his amiable qualities in private life, he must have been lost with heart-felt regret. But his loss as a literary character will be felt in a wider circle. . . . It must be long before he is replaced in the same career

* This book was printed for *private* circulation. Colebrooke remained a freetrader to the last day of his life. Mr. John Crawford, sometime Governor of Singapore, who was quite in accord with Colebrooke in his views, said that in the bad times the book was written, its publication would have cost the writer his position, and perhaps, even banishment from India. See Sir Thomas E. Colebrooke's *Life of Henry Thomas Colebrooke*, 1873, p. 70.

of literature, if he ever is so." * The death of Jones cast upon Colebrooke the task,—a very difficult one, no doubt,—of completing the Digest of Hindu Law, which, on the condemnation of Halhed's *Cade of Gentoo Laws*, Sir William had taken in hand but which he had left unfinished. It was a translation of Pundit Jagannath Tarkapanchanan's "*Vivada Bhagarnava*, or the Sea of the Solutions of Legal Disputes." The work is, like the Roman Digest, a rich repository of texts on Hindu Law, and is therefore not so useful to the Bench as to the Bar. Accordingly, it has been happily characterised as 'the best law-book for Counsel and the worst for a Judge.' "But in whatever degree," says Sir Thomas Strange, "Jagannatha's Digest may have fallen in estimation, as a book to be used with advantage in our Courts, and especially to the southward, it remains a mine of judicial learning, throwing light upon every question on which it treats, whatever attention it may require in extracting it."† In the meantime Colebrooke had been transferred to Mirzapore as Judge-Magistrate. This opportune transfer was very gratifying to him as it gave him better opportunity of having recourse to the literary treasures and savants of the holy city of Benares which was not far from his head-quarters. Colebrooke entered upon his task with great zest and zeal. The translation was completed in two big volumes, of which the first was ready in 1797, and the second in the year following. It was the fruit of two years of incessant application, and it took two years more to place them before the public in printed form.

After Colebrooke had finished his translation of the Digest, he was sent on an embassy to Nagpur in 1808. Although diplomacy was quite uncongenial to his turn of mind and taste, he ungrudgingly responded to the call of duty and executed the trust, which was confided to him, in the best way he could. The object of his mission was to a certain extent gained, but he could not induce the Raja of Berar, Raghujee Bhonsla, to come to a treaty of defensive alliance expressly against the then very powerful Marhatta Chief, Scindia. Failing in that, he quitted Nagpur in May, 1801.‡

At this period of Indian administration Lord Wellesley, having found that the Supreme Council could not well cope with the Appeals from the Provincial Courts which then lay to them, established a Superior Court of Appeal, especially for that purpose, known as the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalat. As a reward for the good services which Colebrooke had done he was

* See Colebrooke's *Life*, pp. 71, 72.

† See *Elements of Hindu Law*, vol. i, pp. xvii-xix.

‡ His Essay on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages appeared in this year.

given a seat in that Court. He was also appointed to the honorary professorship of Hindu Law and Sanskrit at the College, recently established at Fort William for the training of the young Civil Servants of the Company in Indian laws and languages. Colebrooke delivered no oral instruction; but he acted for some time as Examiner in the Persian, Hindustani, Bengali and Sanskrit languages.

Colebrooke acquitted himself very well on the Bench, as appears from the Reports of many important cases decided by him. This was not unknown to Government, and it is, therefore, no wonder that four years later, that is, in 1805,* he was placed at the head of the Court. This lift was attended with a small increase to his salary as a Puisne Judge, which led him to resign the personal allowance which he had received pretty long for his labours in the field of Hindu law. Though by taste and pursuits a man of science and letters, he bore unflinchingly the onerous duties of his high office. The sittings of the Court were heavy, and sometimes absorbed his whole time. But in truth he was as enthusiastic in his labours as a lawyer as in determining abstruse questions in Indian literature.

Colebrooke had hoped to find a seat in the Supreme Council; this hope was realised in 1807.† But though his duties thus became administrative, still in addition thereto he had to take a share in the judicial labours of the Court over which he continued to preside, one of the Members of the Council being, as the law then stood, *ex-officio* member of the Court. Some portion of his time was regularly devoted to sittings in Court and the fruits of his labours appear in its published Reports.

As the Digest of Hindu Law was defective and incomplete in some respects, Colebrooke thought of bringing out a supplement to it. This was no ordinary undertaking. He proposed to recast the whole title of Inheritance, so imperfectly treated in the Digest, and to supplement it with a series of compilations on the several heads of Criminal Law, Pleading, and Evidence, as treated by Indian Jurists. The Sanskrit text was complete, but he did not live to complete the translation. The translations of the Dayabhaga and the Inheritance portion of the Mitakshara appeared in 1810. He also commenced a treatise on the whole Law of Obligations and Contracts; but unfortunately this work was never finished, and the preface and preliminary matter, promised by the author

* In this year appeared his Sanskrit Grammar (unfinished) and Essay on the *Vedas*.

† In this year he was also appointed President of the Asiatic Society in succession to Sir John Shore.

in the first and only published volume,* have never seen the light. Indeed, Colebrooke has done more for native Indian law than any other man, either native or foreigner, has ever been able to do. Sir Thomas Strange very properly observes that his learning in the abstruse science of Hindu law 'known directly from the original and the the most authentic sources, stands acknowledged in Europe as well as in India.'

As Mr. Colebrooke was well versed in law, both English and native, more especially the latter, it is only natural that he should prove an excellent Indian Judge. But erudition was not his only qualification, he was very painstaking, and always felt a strong desire to do justice. His good qualities earned for him that enviable popularity which was not tainted with selfishness or any such base motive. In fact, what Sir William Jones had been in the Supreme Court, Colebrooke was in the Sadar Court. Both of them did their duty conscientiously, both worked hard for the natives of the soil, and both were held in very great esteem. Mr. Henry Shakespear, an able Judge of the Calcutta Sadar Court, thus said of Colebrooke :—"Now, I imagine Mr. Henry Colebrooke to be the highest European authority on matters of Hindu law; but supposing others to be equally well read, no one can be placed in competition with him as to his qualifications,—a knowledge of the law and of the practice and observances of this Court, in which he was so many years the Chief Judge." Mr. William Morley observes : "No one will for a moment dispute that in any question of Hindu law the word of the illustrious Henry Colebrooke is worth the exposition of a thousand Pandits."†

In 1810 Colebrooke married Miss Elizabeth Wilkinson, whom he met at the house of his friend, Mr. Robert Smith, then Advocate-General of Bengal. The girl was of a retiring disposition and proved a good mate to such a literary character.

Colebrooke held his seat in the Council for the stated term of five years. On quitting the Council he reverted to his seat in the Sadar, which he held for only six months. He was then appointed a member of the Board of Revenue, an office which he occupied till the close of the year 1814. Three sons were born to him; but the loss of them told so very severely upon his wife that, when he was preparing for departure, she died in October 1814. Two months after, he sailed from India. In England‡ he kept up his studies in

* This appeared after his return to England, in the year following the appearance of his work on Indian Algebra (in 1817).

† *Administration of Justice in British India*, p. 333.

‡ He was away to Cape Colony from which he again returned to England in 1822.

Indian subjects and wrote many Papers* and Pamphlets thereupon. In his latter days he was bowed down by many family losses, and ultimately lost his eyesight. He died of influenza on the 10th of March 1837, in his seventy-second year.

Colebrooke led a life of literary activity and was sacredly devoted to the cause of science, literature and law. He adorned whatever subject he touched upon and won laurels in several departments of knowledge. But his fame in all other respects has been eclipsed by his fame as a Sanscritist. Truly has he said in one of his letters, "My literary fame must depend on my Sanskrit labours." Governor Crawford, in supporting the liberal views which Colebrooke had advocated in his unpublished *Remarks on the Husbandry and Commerce of Bengal*, wrote:—"It was an honour to be acquainted with such a man; for I hold him to be the greatest of our orientalists,—a riper Sanskrit scholar than Sir William Jones, the equal of my friend Horace Wilson. But he was besides this, what neither of these were, an enlightened political philosopher and political economist, a man of enlightened and comprehensive views." Indeed, the subject of this Memoir was a very remarkable man and his knowledge was cosmopolitan. His reputation was almost world-wide, as appears from the fact that at the time of his death he was a Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and of the Literary Society of Bombay; Fellow of the Astronomical, Geological, Linnæan and Zoological Societies; Foreign Member of the Royal Academy of Paris, of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, and of the Royal Academy of Munich†

John Herbert Harington.—John H. Harington‡ was a distinguished Civil Servant of the East India Company, whose service he entered as a "writer" on 1st August 1780. Shortly after his arrival in India he took to studying the laws of the land and mastered them in a few years. By this time he had seen minor service in different capacities, until in May, 1793, he was made Magistrate of Dinajpur. Three years after, he was appointed Sub-Secretary to the Secret Department

* Among others he contributed an Essay on Hindu Courts of Justice to the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1828.

† Colebrooke's *Life*, p. 383.

‡ This gentleman must not be confounded with Mr. Edward John Harington who after having studied in Haileybury in 1809-11, came out to India in the latter year. He was ultimately made a District Judge, and while substantively holding such appointment acted as a Sadar Judge from 10th March to 7th July 1835. While Judge of Hooghly he tried a case of the so-called *Jal Raja*, Protap Chand, in 1836, after which he retired on pension. He died on 5th October 1857.

and Examiner and Reporter to the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalat. This latter appointment served as a stepping-stone to the Registership of the said Court to which he was promoted in May, 1799. In June following, he was appointed Fourth Member of the Board of Revenue in addition to his duties of Register. The post of Register he held for a little over two years, when on 1st August 1801 he was appointed a Puisne Judge of the said Court along with Mr. Henry Colebrooke. Mr. Harington made a virtue of industry, and although his judicial duties were onerous, still he found time to write a very important work on Indian law. This was his famous *Analysis* which bears the same relation to the Regulation Law as Colebrooke's Digest does to the Hindu Law. Although it was modestly styled 'An Elementary Analysis of the Laws and Regulations enacted by the Governor-General at Fort William in Bengal for the Civil Government of the British Territories under that Presidency', still it is a rich mine of legal information, and plainly shows that its author was a thorough master of the Regulation Law which, besides the personal laws of the Hindus and the Mahomedans, was the only law by which the Company's Courts were guided. The *Analysis** was brought out in two volumes of which the first appeared in 1805 and the second in 1809.

On the retirement of Colebrooke from the Sadar Court, Harington was elevated to his place as Chief Judge on the 17th December, 1811. This high office he held for several years. In 1819 he went home on furlough, from which he did not return to India until 1822, when on 21st December he was chosen provisionally Third Member of the Supreme Council. This was followed by his being appointed Senior Member of the Board of Revenue for the Western Provinces and Agent to the Governor-General at Delhi on 1st August 1823. On 5th February 1824 he was again appointed Chief Judge of the Calcutta Sadar Diwani Adalat. This post he held on* for this the second time till the 22nd April 1825, when he was made a Member of the Supreme Council and President of the Board of Trade. This was his last Indian appointment after which he retired on pension. Harington was also for some years honorary Professor of Laws and Regulations of the Bengal Government in India in the College of Fort William, and was subsequently President of the Council of that College.

Besides the *Analysis*, the only other work for which

* For Morley's estimate of this work, see his *Administration*, p. 170. A volume of extracts from the *Analysis* appeared in Calcutta in 1866. Before Act VIII of 1859 came into operation the Code of Procedure in use was that drawn up by Messrs. Harington and Mills,

Harington is best known is his edition of the Persian and Arabic works of Sadi which appeared at Calcutta in two volumes in 1791-95.

Harington possessed all the qualities of 'a good Judge and was unquestionably an ornament to the Bench. During the time he and Colebrooke were Judges, the Sadar Diwani Adalat earned a very high reputation for justice, and became, if one might say so, an eyesore to the King's Court at Calcutta.

Harington returned to England in 1828, and died at London on 9th April in the same year. A portrait of his hangs in the Library of the High Court.

John Fendall.—Fendall * was a distinguished Civil Servant. Like the majority of Civil Servants he began life as a "writer," as the factors of the East India Company were commonly called. This appointment he obtained on the 12th of November 1777, whereupon he came out to India. His rise in the service was not very rapid, and it was pretty long before he was made a member of the Supreme Council. From the Council Chamber he was exalted to a seat in the Sadar Diwani Adalat on the 9th of September, 1817, in the place of Mr James Stuart who had retired. Fendall proved a good Judge and soon became very popular. He had barely served as a Puisne for two years, when on the retirement of John Herbert Harington he was appointed to take his place as Chief Judge on the 23rd of June 1819. But he was not allowed to lead the Court long, for we find that on the 20th of May 1821 he was taken back to the Council Board of which, as we have already said, he had been a member before his services were availed of in the judicial line. He stayed on at the Council Board and died in harness on the 10th of November 1825, at the supposed critical age of sixty-three.

We have come across only a few of the decisions of Mr. Fendall, but from the little that we have seen of him we are in a position to say that his judicial ability was above the average. There was this peculiarity in him that his judgments were pithy and never travelled out of the point. In fact, they united logical method with terseness of expression.

William Leicester.—W. Leicester† was a Haileybury man.

* A gentleman of the same name was in Haileybury from 1807 to 1809, during which time he obtained medal both in Sanskrit and Persian. He was Register to the Zillah of Nadia at the time of his untimely death which took place on the 5th of July in the Waterloo year. (See *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, p. 332.)

† George Percival Leicester was also a Haileyburian. He arrived in India in 1832, where he remained till 1862. He was Magistrate of Hooghly from 1839 and afterwards rose to be Judge of Shahabad. He died on 3rd November 1877. *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, p. 399.

He was appointed a "writer" on the Bengal establishment of the East India Company on 1st August 1790, and arrived in India on 7th August of the year following. He rose pretty rapidly in the service, and was appointed Third Judge of the Provincial Court at Benares on 6th February 1809. But he did not remain long in the Provincial Court, for in 1812 we find him holding the post of Judge and Magistrate of Dinajpur. After having won his spurs in the Mofussil, Leycester deservedly got a lift to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. This took place on the 26th of November, 1819,—the very year in which Fendall was made Chief Judge,—and when in the next year the latter was taken back to the Council Board he was appointed to take his place. He, however, took charge of the duties of Chief Judge from Sir R. J. Colebrooke who, it would seem, had acted as such from the 10th of May, when John Fendall vacated it, to the 8th December, when he, Mr. Leycester, took charge. He was also appointed a Member of the Sadar Special Commission under Regulation I of 1821 on 27th February 1821, and what was somewhat unusual, was given charge of the Botanical Garden on 18th May following. Mr. Leycester was Chief of the Sadar Diwani Adalat for more than a decade, and it was not till the 1st of April 1831, that he resigned his high office. In the meantime the title of "Chief Judge" had been abolished (in 1829), but in consideration of his having held it so long and so honourably from before, he was allowed to retain it till the last day of his service. Mr. Leycester had been ailing for some time from before, and he, therefore, went to the seaport of Pooree to recruit his health, but the object of his visit was not gained, and he died on the 24th of May, 1831.

Mr. Leycester was an able judicial officer, and the Sadar Court well maintained its reputation for justice and equity during his incumbency. His decisions were, as a rule, very sensible and were almost always received with satisfaction. He combined wide judicial experience with sound legal learning, and by virtue of this happy union made a name in the service which was long cherished with fond regard.

Alexander Ross.—A. Ross * was a very distinguished Civil Servant of the East India Company. On being appointed a "writer," as it was called, on the 27th of September, 1795,

* Another gentleman of this name was born in 1742, and died in 1827. He was one of the most intimate friends of Lord Cornwallis whose valuable correspondence in three volumes was edited by his son, Charles Ross, in 1859. A third of the same name was a Hatterbury man, who in 1836 obtained several prizes besides one medal in that College. He came out to India in the following year, where he served till 1871. He was a Judge of the Sadar Diwani and Nizam Adalat and High Court, N.-W.P., and was an Annuitant.

he sailed for India, where he arrived on the 26th February following. He began his official life as an assistant and rose rapidly in the service until he was appointed Third Judge of the Provincial Court at Bareilly on the 12th of November, 1811. From the Court he was taken to the Board of Commissioners for the settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces as Senior Member, on the 25th of February, 1820. This office he vacated in the next year, when he was made Agent to the Governor-General at Bareilly; but in 1832 he again joined that Board as its First Commissioner. On the 26th of August 1825 he was appointed to officiate as a Judge of the Sadar Dewani Adalat, and on 8th September following was also made to officiate as a Member of the Sadar Special Commission under Regulation I of 1821. On the 8th December 1825, he was made permanent Judge, and worked on as such until in April 1831 he was appointed First Judge on the retirement of Mr. Leycester. But, as a matter of fact, he led the Sadar Court only for a short time, for on the 8th January 1833, he was appointed Provisional Member of the Supreme Council, in which post he was confirmed on the 15th October following. Indeed, his genius lay more in the executive than in the judicial line. The next lift was Provisional Governorship of Agra on 11th November, 1835, which was followed by Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces on 29th February in the year following. As Mr. Ross proved a good ruler of men, he was transferred to Bengal and was appointed its Deputy Governor and President of the Council of India on 20th October 1837. While Mr. Ross held the reins of this important Province, the trial of the so-called *Jal Raja*, Protap Chand, of Burdwan, took place. When the unfortunate claimant was cast in Court, he petitioned the Local Government for relief, but Mr. Ross took no notice of it, his Secretary, Mr. (afterwards Sir Frederick) Halliday, curtly replying that the Government could not interfere in the matter. In October 1838, Ross's *lustrum*, or cycle of five years in Council,—the "quinquennial period",—elapsed and he soon after resigned the service. Towards the close of the year he sailed for "merry England."

Mr. Ross was a good judicial officer, no doubt, but his fame as a Judge somewhat paled before his fame as a Ruler. In fact, he shone more brilliantly in the executive than in the judicial line. Bentham was his favourite author.

Like the late lamented Sir John Woodburn, Ross was very *hospitable* and often entertained friends and acquaintances at his house.

Robert Haldane Rattray.—Robert H. Rattray was nominated a "writer" on the staff of the East India Company on the

29th August, 1799, but he did not arrive in India until the 9th December 1800. He soon made his mark and was appointed Judge and Magistrate somewhere in 1812. Before he had acted as such for half a dozen years, he was appointed a Judge of the Provincial Court at Benaras, which office he held from the 26th of December 1818 to 1825. In the following year he got a lift and was made Senior Judge of the Provincial Court at Bareilly. By a still higher lift he was exalted to a seat in the Sadar Diwani Adalat; this took place on the 20th December 1827. Rattray served as a Puisne till 1833, when on Alexander Ross's leaving the Court, he was elevated to his place as First Judge, either in January or in February. On the 4th September 1843 he was invested with the powers of Special Commissioner under Regulation III of 1828. Rattray occupied the Sadar Bench for a long period, and it was not till some part of 1850 that he retired from Indian service, leaving his place to Mr. Charles Tucker who was only second to him in point of seniority.

Long as Mr. Rattray was on the Sadar Bench, he had earned enviable popularity by the able and conscientious discharge of the very important duties of his high office. He was well versed in the law of the land and had had very wide experience of the manners, customs and habits of the people. No wonder then that he proved an eminent Judge.

Charles Tucker.—Tucker was nominated to the Bengal establishment of the East India Company on the 16th January 1805; but he did not come to India until 10th March of the following year. He rose rapidly in the service and was within a few years appointed Judge and Magistrate. In this capacity he remained pretty long in the outlying district of Sylhet until in 1835 he was made Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit for the Patna Division. In August of the following year he was appointed Special Commissioner under Regulation III of 1828 for the Murshidabad Division. But this office he held only for a few months, after which he was appointed a Temporary Judge of the Sadar Court on the 27th December. This appointment too he held for a short time, for we find that on the 28th of February 1837 he was taken over to the Sadar Board of Revenue as an officiating Member thereof. From the Sadar Board he was again taken over to the Sadar Court and was made a permanent Judge thereof on 25th September 1838; but he did not join his new office until the 18th February following. He did very well on the Bench, and in addition to the duties of a Sadar Judge was invested with the powers of Special Commissioner under Regulation III of 1828 on the 2nd of October 1843. Tucker worked on as a Puisne Judge till 1850, when on the

retirement of Mr. Rattray he was raised to his place as chief head of the Court. But it seemed that the tenure of his natural life had well-nigh expired, and he ended his earthly career at Calcutta, on the 19th of June 1851. Like his predecessor Rattray, Tucker was pretty long on the Sadar Bench and like him had the reputation of a good Judge. He was well acquainted with the laws of the land, and as by long experience he had also gained a fair knowledge of the peculiar manners and customs of the people it was no wonder that he won public esteem and wide popularity. His death was felt as a serious loss to the country. Indeed, he proved a worthy successor of Mr. Rattray and was remembered long in the country.

John Russell Colvin.—Colvin was born in Calcutta on the 29th of May 1807. When quite young he was sent to Scotland where, in the University of St. Andrews, he prosecuted his studies till 1821. He entered Haileybury College in 1823, and passed out of it in the third year at the head of his term, carrying off the honours of his year in classics and mathematics, though in Persian, a language in which he became afterwards proficient, he seems to have met with no marked success. Among his contemporaries were Sir Frederick Halliday, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir Henry Ricketts, and Martin Gubbins, all noted characters who distinguished themselves in their respective spheres of action.

Colvin started for India in October 1825, reaching it on 9th March 1826. Passing rapidly through the College of Fort William, he was attached before the close of the year as an Assistant to Mr. (later Sir William) Macnaghten, the Register of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. He then served for some time in Cuttack as an Assistant to the Judge of that district, and subsequently in the Haiderabad State as an Assistant to the Company's Resident at the Nizam's Court. He came back to Calcutta in 1830, and after filling several posts in the Secretariat Office, was made Secretary to the Bengal Board of Revenue in 1835. In March following, he was selected by Lord Auckland as his Private Secretary, which office he held for the whole term of that Governor-General's rule. About this time Colvin became acquainted with Macaulay, who valued his friendship. To have been in the course of his life one of those whose friendship that great man valued is, as his worthy son and biographer, Sir Auckland Colvin, says, no small title to respect. Colvin proved a very good Secretary. In fact, he was the right hand man of his noble master. On His Excellency's retirement in 1842, Colvin returned with him to England, where he remained till September 1845. On

his return he was appointed Resident at the Nepal Court in succession to Captain (afterwards Sir Henry) Lawrence. In the end of 1846 he succeeded Captain (afterwards Sir Henry) Durand as Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces in Burma, from thence, in the close of the following year, he was summoned by Lord Dalhousie to Calcutta to take his seat on the Bench of the Company's Chief Court of Appeal, namely, the Sadar Diwani Adalat. The Bengal public were somewhat astounded to hear of his appointment. "The objections to the appointment were many. With some he had no experience. With others he had no temper. Again, he had no knowledge of legal matters. But the master who placed him there seldom made a mistake in the selection of his agent."* In point of fact, when Colvin took his seat in the Calcutta Court he brought with him little experience of law beyond what he had gained at Moulmein. Before he left it, less than five years later, he had become, said Sir Charles Trevelyan in his Memoirs of his friend, "*facile princeps* ; so much so that it was commonly said that the pleaders had to be sometimes reminded that they ought to address the Court and not Mr. Colvin." Though he joined the Court as one of its Puisnes, he rose to be its chief and head. This took place in 1851 on the death of Mr. Charles Tucker. The Sadar Diwani Adalat, when Colvin joined it, had a questionable reputation. He laboured successfully, not only to raise the Court to the level which a Chief Court of Appeal should occupy, but also to improve the quality of all Courts subordinate to it. He especially aimed at raising the general character of the native bar ; and it is to be noted that in 1857, after his death, the first meeting that was held at Calcutta to do honour to his memory was convened by the then leader of the native bar, Baboo Rama Prosad Roy. At that meeting the Baboo had said that Mr. Colvin had done more for the improvement of the East India Company's Courts, and for the administration of justice generally than any Judge who had gone before him. Mr. William Ritchie, then Advocate-General, bore most cordial and fitting testimony to what had been said by Rama Prosad ; and Sir James Colville, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, spoke very highly of his eminence in the Court, and also said that he gave up his life for his country as much as if he had fallen sword in hand on the battle-field.†

On the 27th September 1853, Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant-

* See Sir A. Colvin's *John Russell Colvin* (in the *Rulers of India* Series), p. 155.

† See Sir A. Colvin's *John Russell Colvin*, pp. 156, 157.

Governor of the North-Western Provinces, died. Mr. Colvin was appointed, on the 14th October, by Lord Dalhousie, to fill his place. The new Governor took charge of his duties at Benares on the 3rd November 1853. The Provinces which were placed under his rule were not unfamiliar to him, and, as he excelled both in judicial and executive capacities, proved a very vigorous ruler. Though grave and rather stern in demeanour, his natural kindliness of disposition secured him the good will of his officers.

Colvin died on the 9th September 1857, when the Mutiny was in its hottest, and was buried in the Agra fort. A monument was raised over his remains by the pious care of a successor.

Abercrombie Dick.—A. Dick was a Haileyburian. He studied in that College for about three years (1810-12), during which he gained a mathematical prize. He sailed for India just after leaving Haileybury, arriving in it on 6th November of the year following. He rose pretty rapidly in the Company's Civil Service and was made Judge and Magistrate in 1821. This office he held till he was appointed Commissioner of Circuit at Midnapur in 1831. This was followed by his being appointed Civil and Sessions Judge of that district on 1st January following. Mr. Dick had served as District Judge for a considerable time, until on the 8th June 1839 he was raised to the Sadar Diwani Adalat as a Temporary Judge. In the early part of the same year he had served as Special Commissioner of the Calcutta Division and also as Post Master General. Mr. Dick acted as a Temporary Judge for some years, and it was not till June 1847 that he was confirmed in his appointment. His reputation as a judicial officer stood high, and the decisions which he passed were, as a rule, marked by good sense and sound knowledge of law. No wonder then that when Colvin left the Court in view of occupying the *masnad* of the Governor of the North-Western Provinces, he was elevated to his place on the bench of the Sadar Court.

In the first quarter of the year 1855, Dick, it would seem, had somewhat broken down in health. He took leave and went to Madras to recruit his health. The change did him some good, and he came back to Calcutta and resumed his duties in the Sadar Court in March.* Two years after, that is, in the memorable Mutiny year, in which his predecessor in office, Mr. Colvin, died at Agra, he resigned Indian service and returned to his native land to enjoy his *otium cum dignitate*. He passed his last days in peace until death took him away from this world unto the next in the year 1880.

* See *The Friend of India*, dated 15th March 1855.

Dick was a very distinguished Judge. Thoroughly honest and independent, he made free use of his judicial ability which was of a high order, and thus earned a name which is still held in esteem.* He commanded general respect and was liked both by the profession and the public. He also encouraged real merit wherever it was found; and we know it as a fact that it was by his wise advice that Baboo Onoocool Mookerjee, who afterwards so highly distinguished himself both at the bar and on the bench, commenced to study law. Dick was a pro-native civilian and had the good of India at heart.

Sir Robert Barlow, Baronet.—Barlow* was one of the most distinguished Civil Servants of the East India Company. He was in Haileybury College for a couple of years, where he obtained a prize in classics. He came out to India in 1818, arriving in it on the 16th July. He joined the Civil Service and soon made his mark. He and Sir George Tucker, a famous Indian financier, had assisted Mr. Law in improving the state of the district of Gaya. Barlow was appointed Magistrate in 1826 and Civil Judge in 1837. While serving as Civil and Sessions Judge of Hooghly he was appointed to officiate as a Temporary Judge of the Sadar Court on 14th January 1841, in which office he was confirmed a short time after. In 1843 he was vested with the powers of Special Commissioner under Regulation III of 1828. Barlow proved a very good Judge and deservedly earned popularity. On the retirement of Mr. Dick in the year 1857, he took his place as First Judge, but this seat he had to vacate only a few months after. Ill health soon compelled him to resign and he returned to England where he died a few months after.

Henry Thomas Raikes.—Raikes joined the Haileybury College with a view to entering the Civil Service of the East India Company. He remained in that Institution for three years, leaving it in 1826. He sailed for India in the year following, arriving in it on the 14th August. He served in several capacities until he was made District Judge somewhere in 1839. In course of time Raikes rose still higher in the service and was at last raised to the Sadar Court in November 1853. He had joined that Court as a Puisne, but in 1852, on the retirement of Sir Robert Barlow under painful circumstances he was appointed to fill his place as its chief and leader.

After the terrible storm of the Mutiny had subsided into a permanent calm, a change took place in the administration of the country. The rule of the East India Company came to

* Robert Barlow (Senior) arrived in India in 1806 and retired from service in 1836.

an end and the direct rule of the Crown began. As a consequence of this radical change, the Supreme and Sadar Courts were fused into one, namely, the High Court, which still exists in full bloom. To this new Court, Mr. Raikes along with some of his colleagues were transferred as its Judges. In his new capacity under the presidency of Sir Barnes Peacock, Mr. Raikes worked on till the 13th April 1864, when he retired on annuity. This annuity he enjoyed till the year 1880.*

Mr. Raikes was certainly not a brilliant Judge, but there is no doubt that he is entitled to a place among the eminent Judges of the Sadar, in the sense in which we understand that word. He was a sound man and had also large experience of the manners, customs and usages of the people among whom he passed the best part of his life. No wonder then that he was held in considerable esteem which he had so well earned by the able and conscientious discharge of his duties.

John Fombelle.—Fombelle was a pre-Haileybury man, he having come out to India some years before that College, otherwise called the East India College, was established † in England. He had served the East India Company in various capacities and had gained a good name in the administration of justice before the last century began. When the Sadar Diwani Adalat was established at Calcutta in the year 1801, only three Judges, including the Chief Judge, were appointed to it, but before five years elapsed it was found that the small Judiciary were not able to cope with the work which fell to them. Accordingly, in 1806, a Fourth Judge was added to the number, and this additional post was given to Mr. Fombelle, than whom a better man there was none in the Civil Service as it then stood. The new Judge entered upon his duties with his usual zeal and diligence, and as he brought with him considerable experience in civil work soon became popular. He occupied his seat on the Sadar Court for a pretty long period, not retiring from it until 1816. Though not a brilliant Judge, Mr. Fombelle discharged his duties with credit to himself and advantage to the public. He possessed, what is now-a-days very uncommon, strong common sense and his decisions generally gave satisfaction to the parties concerned. He commanded high respect, and in consideration of his grey hairs and wide experience was regarded as a venerable fixture of the Court. His long tenure of office fully entitled him to take the lead, and it was only by a pure accident that he did

* See *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, p. 376.

† The Haileybury College was established in 1806 and lasted till 1858, when with the death of the East India Company it was abolished. It was to serve as an ancillary and preparatory Institution to the Fort William College at Calcutta. (See *Memorials of Haileybury College*.)

not get to the top of the profession. But though not actually the Chief, he received honour not a whit less.

Henry Shakespear.—Like Mr. Fombelle, Henry Shakespear* was also a pre-Haileybury man, he having been nominated a "writer" in the service of the East India Company on the 21st of August 1801. He arrived in India on the 3rd of July following. Shakespear rose pretty rapidly in the service, and before he had been in it for eleven years was made Judge of Jessore. In 1816 we find him Judge and Magistrate of Allahabad, and three years later, acting Superintendent of Police in the Division of Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna, and First Magistrate of the Metropolis. In 1825 he was appointed an Acting Judge of the Sadar Court, but this time he did not remain there for long. In fact, only a few months after, he was appointed to officiate as Chief Secretary to Government, and he served in that capacity until on 4th January 1831 he was made a permanent Judge of the Sadar Court. This high post he held till the 25th of October 1835, after which he was taken over to the Council Board as its Third Ordinary Member. While occupying his seat in Council, he presided at the Committee for inquiring into the state of the Indian Jails. Both at Court and in Council Mr. Shakespear discharged his duties quite satisfactorily and gained the esteem of the profession and the general public. He was in reality an able Judge and an equally able Councillor, and when at last he retired from the Bench he was missed there for a long time, and, again, when death which overtook him in Calcutta on the 20th March 1838, snatched him away from the Council, he was equally missed there too.

Nathaniel John Halhed.—This gentleman was the nephew of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed,† author of the first Bengali Grammar and 'A Code of Gentoo Laws.' He arrived in India on the 27th of September 1804 and entered the much-coveted service of the Honourable East India Company. Halhed's was a successful career. He rose rapidly in the service and became Judge and Magistrate of Agra in the memorable Waterloo year. Years after, that is, on 24th July 1832, he was appointed a Temporary Judge of the Sadar Court at Calcutta along with Mr. C. R. Barwell.‡ In 1833-34 he was Special Commissioner under Regulation III of 1828 for

* John Talbot Shakespear, probably a relation of this gentleman, arrived in India in the same year with the latter and rose to be a Sadar Judge on the 27th February 1821. He retired in 1824 and died in the year following.

† The uncle was a much greater man than the nephew and a voluminous author. He was a warm friend of Richard Brindley Sheridan and Sir William Jones.

‡ Mr. Barwell was on the Sadar Bench till the end of October 1836.

Calcutta, after which he was again appointed a Temporary Judge of the Sadar Court on the 13th December 1835, in which post he was confirmed just a year later. Sometime after, he resigned but was reappointed on the 18th December 1837. Halhed died at Calcutta on the first day of August 1838,* deeply mourned by a large circle of friends and relations. Mr. Halhed was a good judicial officer as appears from the many important decisions which he pronounced while holding his seat in the Sadar Court. He was held in considerable esteem and his untimely death was felt as a public calamity.

David Carmichael Smyth.—Mr. Smyth† was a Haileybury man. He was nominated a "writer" on the Bengal establishment of the East India Company on the 30th April 1812, but he did not reach India until the 11th October 1815. On his arrival, he was posted to Hooghly as Assistant to the Magistrate of that district, and he acted in that capacity until 1817 when he was appointed Register of the District Judge's Court. In 1824 he was appointed Magistrate of Hooghly when Mr. Oakley was Judge. In the meantime he had acted as Secretary to Government in the Territorial Department. In Hooghly Mr. Smyth passed the best part of his life: From Magistrate he became both Judge and Magistrate in 1826. This dual post he held for nearly a decade, during which he did yeoman's service for the good of the district and its inhabitants. Many very useful and important acts testify to the remarkable success of his administration. The town owes its initial improvement to him. Many of the roads which we now see are of his making. The fine ghât‡ which graces the river-side on the east side of Bali was built in his time and bears his honored name,—a name which has justly become a household term in the district. The Chuck Bazar§ with its double row of shops was established at his instance, and under his guidance and supervision. And not only did he beautify the town, he also made it safe from the raids and ravages of the dacoits and other bad characters. The subject of education too attracted his attention, the beneficial result whereof was the establishment of the Branch School in 1834, which still exists, though not in a very flourishing state, as

* See Ram Chunder Doss's *Register of Civil Servants*.

† Smyth, Smith and Smijth are different forms of the same name, only that the one is 'smoothed,' the other 'crisped,' and the third 'smidged.'

‡ Owing to the recession of the river towards the north east, much of the beauty of the ghât is lost, but still it attracts considerable attention as a noble piece of masonry which stands almost untouched by the cruel hand of Time. This ghât was built by subscription in the year 1829.

§ Since the removal of the Courts to Chinsura,—a move in the wrong direction,—it has lost much of its importance and drives only a dull traffic.

an offshoot of the College of Mohammad Mohsin at Chinsura, which too appears to be on the decline. Thus, the town owes an immense debt of gratitude to Mr Smyth.

As a fitting reward for his services in the Mofussil, Mr. Smyth was raised to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. His first appointment* which was an officiating one was in June 1834. A little more than two years later he was made a Temporary Judge, in which capacity he worked on till January 1838, when he proceeded to Europe on furlough. On his return just two years after, he joined the Sadar Court as one of its permanent Judges. This time Mr. Smyth acted only for a year and a few months, for on the 2nd September 1892 he died at Calcutta much to the regret of his numerous friends and relations. His death was regarded as a public calamity. Though his tenure of office in the Sadar Diwani Adalat was not long, Mr. Smyth proved himself quite worthy of it. Indeed, his reputation as an able judicial officer had preceded him, and, be it said to his credit, the high expectation which the profession and the public had begun to entertain of his judicial ability and independence was fully realized. Verily, he was an eminent Judge, and it is, therefore, no wonder that his sacred memory is still cherished in Bengal with fond regard.

John Ross Hutchinson.—J. R. Hutchinson† was born in the year 1792, and was educated at Haileybury College for the Indian Civil Service. He was nominated a "writer" on the Bengal establishment of the East India Company on the 8th May 1808, but he did not come out to India until 1810, arriving in it on 7th December. Mr. Hutchinson's rise in the service was pretty rapid. He was appointed Register of the Civil Court of Mirzapur on 17th June 1814. Some seven years after, he was appointed Acting Judge and Magistrate of Burdwan. This was followed by his being made permanent Judge of Goruckpur in 1832. Five years later we find him Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, Agra Division. On 10th December 1836 Mr. Hutchinson was gazetted to act as a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta. In that capacity he worked on till the 30th January 1838, when he was made a Temporary Judge‡ of that Court. But it

* Mr. C. W. Smith was also appointed in the same year; but his judicial reputation was not so high as that of Mr. Smyth: he was only an average man, if that even. Mr. F. C. Smith was also another Judge of the Sadar Court, but he too could not distinguish himself. He was appointed to officiate in 1837, and was not made permanent.

† This gentleman should not be confounded with his namesake who, like him, having received a training at Haileybury, came out to India in 1841. Here he served the East India Company in various capacities and died in harness, having been killed at Delhi on 11th May, 1857.

‡ While holding such high position Mr. Hutchinson gave his deposition in the Great Burdwan Case at the Hooghly Magistrate's Court.

seemed that the lease of his natural life had only a few months more to run, and he, accordingly, expired at Calcutta on the 17th September,* 1838.

Mr. Hutchinson, it is true, did not remain long in the Sadar Court, but he had earned the reputation of a good Judge. Though not a brilliant officer in the best sense of the term, his judicial ability was certainly above the ordinary run. He was a patient, persevering and painstaking Judge, and was justly held in esteem by the profession and the public. His death in the prime of life was regarded as a serious loss to the country where his lot was cast.

John Fleming Martin Reid was also a Haileybury man; and he came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the East India Company on the 28th August 1815. He began life as an Assistant Magistrate and gradually rose to be Register of the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta in the year 1829. This post he held till 1836 when he was appointed to officiate as a Temporary Judge of that Court. On the 10th January, 1838, he was made Post Master General; but this office he held for a few months only, for, as a matter of fact, he was re-appointed to officiate in the same capacity, in which he was before, at the Sadar Court. This officiating appointment was followed by *pucca* Temporary Judgeship on 21st May 1839, and this, again, by Permanent Judgeship on 20th October 1841. On 9th September 1843, Mr. Reid was invested with the powers of Special Commissioner under Regulation III of 1828. This was the utmost point to which he rose, and in this height he held his pride of place until the year 1849, after which he retired from Indian service and returned to England. There he enjoyed his *otium cum dignitate* for about ten years and then died in peace on the 3rd March, 1859,† the year in which England lost two of her best sons, Macaulay and Elphinstone, whose memory is equally revered in India. As Reid in his capacity of Register had acquired considerable experience in the affairs of the Sadar Court before he was elevated to its Bench, it was no wonder that he proved a good Judge. Not only was his mind well stored with the rules and practice of the Court, he had also a fair knowledge of the law of the land and possessed a judicial turn of mind, so very essential to the success of a Judge. He had a penetrating eye and could see through cases at a glance. Reid was pretty long

But unfortunately for the claimant, he was not called as a witness in the Sessions Court, where his fate was practically sealed for ever.

* According to another account the date of his demise was the 2nd September.

† See *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*.

on the Bench, and while there wicked people had very little chance of imposing upon the Court and seeing their misdeeds go unpunished. He was an excellent type of a judicial officer; able and intelligent, patient and independent, and proved an ornament to the Bench. After he retired, he was long missed in the Court, whose fame he had laboured hard to heighten.

Edward Lee Warner.—Lee Warner was a Haileybury man. He came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the East India Company on 13th May 1816. Like the majority of Civilians, Warner began his official life as an Assistant and gradually rose in the ladder of service. In 1825 we find him Judge and Magistrate of Ghazipur, whence in the year following he was sent to Benaras as Judge of the Provincial Court. He served in that capacity till the first quarter of the year 1829, when he was appointed a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta. Warner held his seat in that high Tribunal for fourteen years, except for one single month in 1842 in which he was absent on special duty at Tirhoot. He was Judge of the Sadar Court till the end of February 1843, after which he returned to England. He retired from service on 1st May 1843.

Lee Warner was an able Judge, and long as his tenure of office was in the Sadar he left a name which was held in grateful remembrance for years after his retirement.

Evelyn Meadows Gordon.—Mr. Gordon was also a Haileybury man. Having studied for a couple of years in that Training Institution in which he obtained a medal for History and Political Economy, and also gained a prize for Essay, he came out to India as a "writer" on the Bengal establishment of the East India Company in the year 1820. Gordon rose rapidly in their service and was ultimately appointed a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat in 1845. He did very well on the Bench, and in recognition of his judicial success was made a Member of the Board of Revenue three years later. His usual success also attended him at the Board, whence he retired for good and returned to England. This took place in the year 1853. At home Gordon had enjoyed ease with dignity for near five years, when on 29th June 1868 he breathed his last much to the regret of his friends and relations.

Welby Brown Jackson was a distinguished Civil Servant. Having prosecuted his studies at Haileybury for a little more than two years he started for India in the year 1821, arriving in it on 7th January following. Jackson began his career as a "writer" under the East India Company, having been nominated to the Bengal Civil Service on 30th April 1821. He rose rapidly in the Company's service, as is evident

from the fact that before half a dozen years elapsed he was made Judge and Magistrate of Behar. He ruled that important district from 1826 to 1831, when he was appointed Register of the Sadar Diwani Adalat on the 13th December of the latter year. Jackson's next lift in the service was the appointment of Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, Murshidabad Division, on 13th April 1838. In this capacity he had served for several years when he was raised to the Sadar Diwani Adalat as an Acting Temporary Judge on 10th September 1845, in which post he was confirmed in the course of a year and some odd months. He continued to serve in that Court till the year 1853. He * retired on annuity in the following year and returned to England, where he lived to a ripe old age, dying on 17th November 1890.

Mr. Jackson was all along hostile to the interests of the Zamindars whose practice of rack-renting, where they could have recourse to it, was far from conducive to the material prosperity of the country. Like Mr. Andrew John Moffat Mills and many other great men he denied the Zamindars having any right to the land. He thus wrote on 21st November 1849:—"There are but two parties having a right in the soil in India,—the state and the cultivator. Each has a fixed share in the produce. . . . The Zamindars being mere farmers of the revenue do nothing for the improvement of the country. It is to the resident cultivators and to them alone the country owes its improvement and extension of tillage, and it is by their energy and toil that the Government is supported: They are the most valuable and respectable class in the country." The point dealt with by the eminent Judge, at least so far as it relates to state of things previous to the passing of the Cornwallis Regulations, is, however, not free from doubt and difficulty, and, as Sir Roger de Coverley has long since observed, much might be said on both sides of the question.

It seems that in 1853 Mr. Jackson made a tour of inspection in Bengal, and in the Report which he wrote in October on the subject he strongly condemned the practice, which was then very common among Zamindars, of keeping hired *lathials* (clubmen) whose chief business was to make affray, break heads and commit *loot*. The number of such desperate characters was very great in the country, and the

* Mr. W. B. Jackson's son, Mr. Elphinstone Jackson, proved worthy of such a father. He became a Judge of the High Court at Calcutta and worked in it till 1873 when he retired; but he died a few days after reaching England. In this case, as in that of Edmund Burke, the natural order of events was reversed, the child dying long before the parent.

late Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee of Utterpara, than whom a more public-spirited man could not be found in all Bengal, once thought of forming a regiment out of them and enlisting them in the regular army.

But public-spirited as he was in an eminent degree, Mr. Jackson was better known to the public as a Judge. Verily he was an ornament to the Court in which he administered justice for nearly a decade. His decisions were, as a rule, very sensible, and in nine cases out of ten, gave general satisfaction. He did not seek popularity, but, such was his merit as a Judge, it came upon him of its own accord. He was held in very high esteem and his retirement was looked upon as a great loss to the country.

Andrew John Moffat Mills was, like most of the servants of the East India Company, a Haileybury man. Having studied in that institution for about three years he came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the Company in 1826. He served in various capacities and ultimately reached the height of his ambition by being appointed a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat somewhere in the year 1852. While serving in that capacity the miserable state of the Bengal peasantry which he had come to know during his pretty long residence in this country moved his kind heart and he recorded an important minute giving expression to his feelings. On the 31st August 1852 he wrote:—"The condition of the ryot in Bengal is most wretched, he has no means of obtaining redress against a powerful landlord."*

Mr. Mills retired on annuity in the year 1856, just when the formidable thunderbolt of the Sepoy Mutiny was about to burst on India. He returned to his native land, where after enjoying his dignified ease for nearly a score of years he died in peace on the 9th May 1876.

Mr. Mills considerably resembled Mr. W. B. Jackson in his taste and pursuits and was like him known as a very able judicial officer. Brief as his tenure of office was in the Sadar, he proved himself quite worthy of it. His early retirement from the Bench was felt very much in the country.

Binny James Colvin was a distinguished Civil Servant. Having studied for nearly two years at Haileybury, where he obtained a medal for History and Political Economy, he came out to India as a "writer" on the Bengal establishment of the East India Company. Colvin began his Indian career, in 1828, as an Assistant, and, after having served in several other capacities, rose to be Register of the Sadar Diwani

* Vide *The Zemindary Settlement of Bengal*, Vol. 1, p. 77.

Adalat. This office, which was generally a stepping-stone to a seat on the Bench, he held for many long years, and when it appeared quite clear that he was able to do also the judicial functions of the Court whose ministerial duties he had performed so long with credit, he was elevated to the Bench. This took place in the year of grace 1855. Colvin held his seat in the Sadar Court for a little over two years and then retired in the memorable Mutiny year.

As Mr. Colvin was Register for a considerable period, it was expected that he would prove a good Judge, and, be it said to his credit, this expectation was fulfilled. Though his tenure of the judicial office was not long, still he showed enough which established beyond doubt that he possessed judicial ability of a high order. He was held in great esteem by the profession and the public, and his early retirement was looked upon as a serious loss to the country.

James Hardwicke Patton was also a Haileyburian. He had studied in that College for nearly three years, during which period he obtained a prize for Bengali writing, and then came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the East India Company in 1822. He served that great Company in different capacities and ultimately rose to be a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat in 1855. This post he held for about five years, retiring on annuity in 1861. He died in England on 1st September 1870.

Mr. Patton was not only a good judicial officer, he was also a good writer and an authority on Indian subjects. His "Principles of Asiatic Monarchies" is a work of considerable merit. He is one of those who deny proprietary right to Zamindars, deeming them as mere collectors of revenue. In the said work he writes as follows:—"The truth is that between the sovereign and the *rubb-ool-arz* * (who is properly the cultivator) no one intervenes who is not a servant of the sovereign; and this servant recovers his hire, not out of the produce of the lands over which he is placed, but from the public treasury, as is specially mentioned by every lawyer."†

Archibald Sconce was, like most of the servants of the East India Company, a Haileybury man. Having studied at that College for about two years, during which he obtained many prizes and medals, he came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the great Company, arriving in it on 2nd May 1829. He rose very rapidly in the ladder, and before even a decade had elapsed was appointed Magistrate and

* This word literally means *lord of the land*.

† Quoted in *The Zemindary Settlement of Bengal*, Vol. i, pp. 91, 92.

Collector. In this capacity he ruled the outlying district of Chittagong till 1841, when he was placed in charge of the Salt Agency of Bhullooah and Chittagong. He was then appointed Commissioner of Chittagong, in which capacity he had served Government, until on the 6th November 1856 he was raised to the Sadar Diwani Adalat as a Puisne Judge. His usual success attended Mr. Sconce in his new sphere and he proved a worthy Judge. Not long after, his services were availed of in the Legislative Council of which he was made a Member. Both at Court and in Council Mr. Sconce did very well and obtained public esteem and regard.

Having achieved fame in this distant land Mr. Sconce thought that he had done his duty, and, accordingly, left India for good in the year 1861 on receiving an annuity.*

John Samuel Torrens † was also a Haileybury man, but he remained in that College for only a year. In 1830 he came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the Honourable East India Company, arriving in it on 11th September. He began his official life as an Assistant, and, as good luck would have it, soon made his mark. On the 30th November 1837, he was appointed Special Deputy Collector of 24-Pargannas, Nadia and Murshidabad; but as he wielded a powerful pen he was ere long taken over to the Bengal Secretariat where he was appointed to officiate as Deputy Secretary in the Revenue and Judicial Department on the 5th May 1842. This important post he held till the year 1844, when he was again appointed Special Deputy Collector of Alipur. Some years after, he rose to be District Judge, which office he held for a pretty long period. In 1852-53 he was Judge of Hooghly, where his name is still remembered with honour by the old folks. Mr. Torrens was a man of combative spirit, and the occasions were not few on which he, as it were, "kicked against authority." One of these occasions arose in 1855 when Mr. C. T. Buckland was Register of the Sadar Courts. Mr. Torrens was asked by the Sadar to correct himself in a matter relating to stamp duty, but, confident as he was of his own worth, he made no hesitation in disobeying the orders of his official superiors, saying that there nothing in law to warrant that he was wrong and the

* See *Memorials of the Old Haileybury College*, p. 389.

† There were two other eminent men in India of the same name. One was Robert Torrens, a Haileyburian, who was Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General at Murshidabad. He retired in 1852 after a service of nearly twenty eight years, and died in England on 3rd December 1874. The other was Henry Whitelock Torrens (1806-1852), an Indian Civil Servant, who was the eldest son of S. Henry Torrens. He wrote many works of which his 'Unfinished Translation of the Arabian Nights' is the best.

Sadar Court right.* From being District Judge Mr. Torrens was elevated in 1856 to the very Court with whose Judges he had had a passage-at-arms in the year preceding. At first he acted as an Extra Judge, but was made permanent in the course of a year or so. Mr. Torrens did very well on the Bench, adorning it till 1860, when he resigned Indian service and returned to England to spend the last days of his life in that blessed land of freedom, where he had first seen the light of heaven.

David Inglis Money.—Mr. Money was, like the generality of the Civilians of the time, a Haileybury man. Having prosecuted his studies in that College for a little over two years he came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the East India Company. He was a painstaking officer, and it is, therefore, no wonder that he soon made his mark. After Mr. Money had seen service for over a decade he was sent to Hooghly as its Collector. This office he held for years together, during which period by the able and conscientious discharge of his duties he gained the regard and affection of the people. Like that of Mr. D. C. Smyth, Mr. Money's name has also become a household term in the district. He was a warm friend of the natives and took considerable interest in their education and general improvement. He used to award medals to deserving students of the local College. Dwarka Nath Mitter who afterwards so highly distinguished himself, bore away these medals for some years and thus a friendship sprang up between the veteran Collector and the young student, which ripened into intimacy when both of them were in the Sadar Diwani Adalat, the one as a Judge and the other as a Pleader. Dwarka Nath having very successfully passed the Committee Examination, as it was called, joined the Sadar Court in 1856, and, as good fortune would have it, Mr. Money was elevated to that Court only a couple of years after. The old Judge who had known Dwarka Nath from before was very glad to see his protégé at the bar, and judging from his antecedents as well as from the way in which, young as he was, Dwarka Nath was doing his professional business, he verily believed that he would rise very high in forensic practice. Mr. Money did all he could to advance the interest of his protégé, but before he had been barely three years in that Tribunal, ill health compelled him to retire from it. This was in 1860. The day on which he sat for the last time on the Bench, he took Dwarka Nath into his private chamber and prefigured in glowing colours the brilliant future which awaited him, if God only spared his life. He then got hold of the hands of his

* See *The Friend of India*, April 5, 1855.

favourite and shook them warmly. It is very gratifying to remark that Mr. Money's predictions were fulfilled beyond his most sanguine expectations, and Dwarka Nath lived long enough to leave a name which posterity would not willingly let die.

Although Mr. Money was in the Sadar Courts only for a few years, still he showed enough of his judicial ability from which the profession and the public were in a position to entertain favourable opinion of him as a Judge. Indeed, his decisions were marked by sound good sense, and they seldom failed to give satisfaction to the public. His early retirement, which circumstances over which he had no control made it necessary, was regarded as a serious loss to the 'heaven-born' service as it was called, of which he was one of the most prominent exponents.

Here ends our account of the eminent Judges of the Sadar Courts. There were, it is true, a few other such Judges who are deserving of notice, but as they were longer in the High Court than in the Sadar, we have purposely reserved their account till we come to deal with the eminent Judges of the present High Court. In the meantime, following the course we have adopted in the case of the Judges of the Supreme Court we annex hereto a complete list of the Judges of the Sadar Courts, distinguishing the Puisnes from the Chief and First Judges, with dates of their appointments :—

CHIEF JUDGES.

Peter Speke, Esq.	...	...	1801
Sir George Hilaro Barlow, Bart.	...	...	1802
Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq.	...	...	1805
John Herbert Harington, Esq.	...	...	1811
John Fendall, Esq.	...	...	1819
William Leycester, Esq.	...	...	1820

FIRST JUDGES.

Alexander Ross, Esq.	...	...	1831
Robert Haldane Rattray, Esq.	...	...	1833
Charles Tucker, Esq.	...	...	1850
John Russell Colvin, Esq.	...	...	1851
Abercrombie Dick, Esq.	...	...	1853
Sir Robert Barlow, Bart.	...	...	1857
Henry Thomas Raikes, Esq.	...	...	1858

PUISNES.

John Lumsden, Esq.	...	...	1801
* Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq.	...	...	1801
* John Herbert Harington, Esq.	...	...	1801
John Fombelle, Esq.	...	...	1806

* Those marked with an asterisk afterwards became Chief Judge.

Burroughs Crisp, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1808
James Stuart, Esq.	...	...	1808
William Edward Rees, Esq.	...	...	1812
Ynyr Burges, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1812
Henry Herbert Thomas Colebrooke, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1812
Robert Ker, Esq.	...	...	1814
George Oswald, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1816
* John Fendall, Esq.	...	...	1817
William Blunt, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1818
Samuel Thomas Goad, Esq.	...	...	1819
** William Leycester, Esq.	...	...	1819
Courteney Smith, Esq.	...	...	1820
William Dorin, Esq.	...	...	1820
John Talbot Shakespear, Esq.	...	...	1821
Charles Elliott, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1822
William Byam Martin, Esq.	...	...	1823
John Ahmuty, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1824
Cuthbert Thornhill Sealy, Esq.	...	...	1824
Henry Shakespear, Esq.	...	...	1825
** Alexander Ross, Esq.	...	...	1825
Sir James Edward Colebrooke, † Bart.	...	...	1827
** Robert Haldane Rattray, Esq.	...	...	1828
William Bunt, Esq.	...	...	1828
M. H. Turnbull, Esq.	...	...	1828
Richard Walpole, Esq.	...	...	1832
C. R. Barwell, Esq.	...	...	1832
Nathaniel John Halhed, Esq.	...	...	1832
William Braddon, Esq.	...	...	1833
T. C. Robertson, Esq.	...	...	1834
David Carmichael Smyth, Esq.	...	...	1834
Christopher Webb Smith, Esq.	...	...	1834
George Stockwell, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1834
Edward John Harington, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1835
John Master, Esq.	...	...	1835
Wigram Money, Esq.	...	...	1836
John Ross Hutchinson, Esq.	...	...	1837
F. C. Smith, Esq.	...	...	1837
Charles Harding, Esq.	...	...	1837
John Fleming Martin Reid, Esq.	...	...	1837
Edward Lee Warner, Esq.	...	...	1839
* Abercrombie Dick, Esq.	...	...	1840
* Charles Tucker, Esq.	...	...	1840
T. P. B. Briscoe, Esq.	...	...	1840
* Robert Barlow, Esq. ‡	...	...	1841
James Shaw, Esq. (Temry.)	...	...	1842

* Those marked with an asterisk afterwards became First Judge.

** Those marked with two asterisks afterwards became Chief Judge or First Judge as the case might be.

† This gentleman had acted as Chief Judge for a short time in 1824.

‡ Created Baronet in 1847.

Evelyn Meadows Gordon, Esq.	...	...	1845
Welby Brown Jackson, Esq.	...	...	1845
John Abraham Francis Hawkins, Esq.	...	...	1847
Edward Currie, Esq. §	...	...	1847
* John Russell Colvin, Esq.	...	...	1850
John Dunbar, Esq.	...	...	1850
Richard Herbert Mytton, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1853
Andrew John Moffat Mills, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1853
Binny James Colvin, Esq.	...	...	1855
* Henry Thomas Raikes, Esq.	...	...	1855
James Hardwicke Patton, Esq.	...	...	1855
Archibald Sconce, Esq.	...	...	1856
John Samuel Torrens, Esq.	...	...	1856
Charles Binny Trevor, Esq.	...	...	1856
George Loch, Esq.	...	...	1857
Henry Vincent Bayley, Esq.	...	...	1857
David Inglis Money, Esq.	...	...	1858
Edward Alexander Samuells, Esq.	...	...	1859
Charles Steer, Esq.	...	...	1860

SHUBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

§ Appointed Officiating Special Commissioner with powers of a Judge, May 7th, 1847.

* Those marked with an asterisk afterwards became First Judge.

ART. II.—HIS MAJESTY'S REGIMENT DE MEURON.

THE recent war in South Africa must always remain remarkable as the first serious contest carried on by Great Britain in modern times solely with her own national forces. The smallness of her standing army—invariably out of all proportion to the number of her population—obliged her (it is true) to invoke the aid of auxiliaries from her colonies : but whereas in former wars necessity had compelled her to enlist the services of foreign mercenaries, the contingents who came to her assistance against the Boers were composed of men of British speech and blood, owing allegiance to the same sovereign and forming units of the same Empire. The days are gone of the Captains Courageous whose swords were always at the disposal of the highest bidder, and who did not scruple upon occasion to fight against the land that gave them birth. But it is good to remember how large a part has been played by men of alien race in the history of our islands. It was with Irish, and not with English, troops that Ireland was conquered. We find recorded in "Drake and the Tudor Navy" the regret of an officer who had distinguished himself in the suppression of the Irish clans that he had not Irish kernes with him in Spain. Marlborough's ever-victorious army was as composite a body as can well be imagined and was made up of English, Dutch and Germans, many of the latter being in British pay. Both William the Third and Anne paid the expenses of Swiss regiments which served against the French under the Grand Duke of Savoy. When the House of Hanover came to the throne of England, Hanoverian troops naturally acted as auxiliaries to the British flag. The armies which fought at Dettingen and Minden were as largely made up of Germans as of English, though the former were for the most part paid with English gold. When England was threatened with invasion, we borrowed Dutchmen to resist the Highlanders in their march upon Derby. We employed hordes of Germans in the American War of Independence ; and we hired Hessians and Germans in the Irish insurrection of 1798. Even as late as the Crimean War, we recruited a Swiss and a German Legion. After the peace, many of the soldiers re-engaged with the East India Company, and the third Regiment of Bombay Europeans was largely composed of them. Others were encouraged to emigrate to the Cape, where they were granted lands, and many of their sons took up arms in the late war, on the side of the Transvaal burghers.

But it was during the long struggle with Napoleon that our

Army List showed the most extraordinary patch work of military odds and ends. We had a very serviceable force of all arms in the King's German Legion ; we had three double-battalion regiments of Swiss infantry, Corsican Rangers, Greek light infantry, and many corps of French émigrés. Most of the latter were destroyed in vain expeditions to the coasts of Brittany and La Vendée, and none of them survived the peace of Amiens, except the battalion of Chasseurs Britanniques, which was raised from the *débris* of Condé's brigades, disbanded at the signing of the same peace.

So again, it was with Indian and not British soldiery that India was chiefly won. Even the leaven of white troops was stiffened by a considerable non-British element. This was the case with every European nation that maintained troops in India. Paradis, the bravest of Dupleix's general and commander of Madras during its French occupation, was a Swiss born in London : and many of his countrymen served in his ranks. La Bourdonnais brought Caffres over from Madagascar, and it was a shot from a French Caffre that killed Anwarooddeen, Nabob of the Carnatic. Similarly the garrisons in the pay of the Dutch were rarely above one quarter or a third Dutch ; the remainder being composed of English and French deserters and renegade continental adventurers who came for the purpose of making or mending their fortunes. Of the Company's forces at Plassey, the Madras Infantry which formed the largest contingent, was commanded by Gaupp, a Swiss and a large proportion of the rank and file were foreigners. One of Clive's best officers was Adolphus Gingens, "a Swiss gentlemen and as brave a one as any of his nation," and among his lieutenants was the Huguenot de Vismes.

Even in the days before Plassey foreign corps were entertained in John Company's service. Orme speaks in 1752 of the ships from England bringing out a reinforcement of two Swiss companies, each 100 strong, and commanded by Swiss officers. One of these companies, while proceeding to Fort St. David by boat, was taken by a French ship and carried into Pondichery : where it remained till it was sent back by Godeheu at the beginning of the negotiations. The other commanded by Captain Polier took part in the battles of the Carnatic under Lawrence. In 1757 there was Swiss soldiers at Calcutta, part of the two battalions of Colonel Prevost's regiment taken over by the Company the previous year.¹ The notorious Walter

¹ Thirty-two Swiss soldiers died at Madras between 1752 and 1758 according to the Registers of St. Mary's Church, edited by Rev. H. Malden. Colonel Prevost's two battalions do not appear to have formed a separate regiment, but were incorporated with the Company's European regiments. This may account for the appellation "European" instead of

Reinhardt, husband of the Begum Sumroo, and the murderer of defenceless Englishmen at Patna, made his first acquaintance with India as a sergeant in Captain Ziegler's company, attached to the Bombay European Regiment. As early as 1757 Ives mentions a prisoner named Alexander Sansawre, "who first came from Europe to Bombay in a Swiss company of soldiers," and was recaptured after deserting to Law. Another corps was Doxat's Chasseurs (referred to by the painter Hodges in his *Indian Travels*), and a third a body of French dragoons, which Claude Martine, when a prisoner of war and a simple warrant officer, raised for the service of the Company from the French captives at Madras.

The Neuchâtel Regiment de Meuron is of later enlistment. Its existence is overlooked by the British historians of India and passed over in a couple of pages by military writers such as Wilson. Its name has been so long absent from the pages of the Army List that its mention, in these days of short-lived memories, can hardly be expected to arouse enthusiasm. The manuscript of its services lies somewhere among the lumber of the War Office, unread and forgotten. One of the many corps of mercenaries which the Swiss nation furnished to fight the battles of other Powers in the eighteenth century, the Regiment de Meuron has fallen into oblivion as thorough as that which has overtaken Dillon's Royal Regiment of Ireland or the Gendarmes Ecosais. Its story none the less offers much that is curious to the burrower in literary bye-ways. For the last twenty years of the eighteenth century and the first fifteen of the nineteenth, wherever fighting was to be done in Ceylon, India and Canada, the Regiment de Meuron was in the thick of it. Like the Israelites of old under Moses, it was for nearly forty years on the move, the distances it traversed and the hardships it endured being far in excess of those recorded in the itinerary of the children of Jacob. In its ranks men of every nationality rubbed shoulders—Swiss, Poles, Russians, Italians, Germans, inhabitants of towns as far removed as Basel and Pondicherry. Originally raised in the interests of the Dutch East India Company, the Regiment after fourteen years of warfare against the British, transferred its services to King George of England and served its new master with the same degree of intrepidity as it had once been happy to display against him. It was the fashion in those days for professional fire-eaters to shift their allegiance much after the manner of the Princess, who varied her religion "comme on changea sa

English given to those regiments. Among the troops on the Coromandel Coast the "Swiss Infantry Company" is definitely so named. One company of Artillery, which came out to Madras on the *Montford* in August 1753 was entirely composed of foreigners, principally Swiss.

chemise." Yet once in the British service his Majesty's Regiment de Meuron was true to its salt. Besides minor laurels, it can claim the proud distinction of having carried its colonel's colours triumphantly through the breach at Seringapatam.

But the real interest of the career of this gallant band of Switzers lies less in the alarms and excursions it can record than in the many sidelights which it incidentally casts upon the social and military details of a stirring period. The account of de Meuron's negotiations with the British War Office reads like the columns of a modern newspaper. The deeds in many lands of his life of derring-do recall the adventures of a mediæval soldier of fortune.

In a corner of the museum in the old Swiss town of Neuchâtel there stands a case of shells and natural history specimens labelled "collection de Meuron." Brought from the Coromandel coast more than a century ago, these curios became the nucleus of the natural history museum of Neuchâtel which, enriched by such men as Agassiz and Coulon, is to-day as much a glory of the town as her chocolat Suchard or her timepieces. It is characteristic of the ingratitude of posterity that, if de Meuron be remembered by his fellow-citizens, it should be by virtue of a conchological assortment concealed in a dark corner of the Neuchâtel museum. As a British general once of some importance, he is deserving of a wider mention in history.

Charles Daniel de Meuron was born at Saint Sulpice on the 6th of May, 1738, the eldest son of Theodore de Meuron, at that time "Justicier" at Vals de Travers.² His boyhood was not eventful, yet his military ardour must have asserted itself early, for we find him, while still in his teens, enrolled in the Regiment de Hallwyl, formerly de Karrer, a body of Swiss marines in French employ. The English fleet was then blockading Rochefort at the mouth of the Charente, and here Charles de Meuron, who ended his career at seventy as a British General, commenced it as an ensign at seventeen by fighting against his future honourable masters. After the defence of the Isle of Aix, his promotion to the rank of lieutenant seems to have definitely marked his adoption of the military life.

In March 1757, a larger sphere of activity overseas for the first time opened out before him. Together with a company of the Regiment de Hallwyl, de Meuron embarked upon the *Florissant*, a vessel of seventy-four guns which had been equipped by the French Government with a view of lending

² The father is also described as "captain in one of the companies." He had two younger sons, Theodore Abraham and Pierre Frédéric (of whom later) and three daughters.

assistance to the American colonists in their struggle against England. But the vessel was fated never to reach her destination for, while in Martinique waters, she fell in with the *Buckingham*, a British 74, and was so severely handled that she was within an ace of striking her flag.³ It was fortunate that the approach of darkness enabled her captain, de Maureville, to effect an escape in spite of his losses and to bring his disabled vessel into the neighbouring haven of Port Royal. Here the arrival of the Swiss marines proved nothing if not opportune, for the Regiment de Hallwyl was in time to take an active part in repelling the invading squadron of Admiral Moore: a land engagement in which de Meuron added a third and severe wound to two which he had already received in the preceding sea-fights.

The return journey of the *Florissant*, if less eventful, cannot have been without its dangers. The ship, indeed, had suffered so much as to be hardly seaworthy, and her detachment of marines must have felt it no hardship to be transhipped at Cadiz into the *Triton*. In this vessel, they finally reached

³ There is a graphic account of the fight in "The Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore, late an officer in the British Navy," a book published in 1795, which merits rescue from oblivion if only on account of its fantastic title-page. For not only is it declared to be "interspersed with a variety of original anecdotes selected from his journals when in the Tuscan, Portuguese, Swedish, Imperial, American and British services, in each of which he bore a commission," but "as the author has been at intervals the Manager of a respectable Company of Comedians, in several of the principal towns of England, France and Flanders, he has also added some original sketches of several theatrical characters, who now rank high in the Thespian Corps, with descriptions of the various scenes in which he has been lately involved through the machinations of petty fogging attorneys, in which the arts of those Terriers of the law are fully exposed for the benefit of Society." At the time of the encounter between the *Florissant* and the *Buckingham*, Moore was a midshipman on board the latter. On the 3rd of November, when in company with the *Wessel* sloop and the *Bristol* of 50 guns, she fell in with the French fleet. "Captain Trag of the Marines took his faithful stand by the colours, with a cocked pistol in his hand, declaring that the contents of it should be lodged in the first man that would attempt to strike them to the enemy, and, if carried away by a shot, there was another to supply its place." The *Florissant* poured in a broadside, wounding Captain Tyrrell of the *Buckingham* "when command devolved upon Mr. Marshall, first Lieutenant, who, whilst he dropped on his knees abaft the binnacle to pray, had his head shot off by a ball that happened to pass that way." Nothing daunted, the *Buckingham*, answering with a star-board broadside sent one of the opposing frigates to "visit the secrets of the hoary deep. Captain Tyrrell's wound being dressed, he immediately resumed the command. "We fought the *Florissant* so close that our bowsprit got foul of her fore rigging: we engaged her five glasses, at the end of which, night coming on, she thought fit to sheer off: we were such a wreck that we could scarce work our way into St. John's Antigna, with both hand and chain pumps going."

Marseilles after an absence of nearly three years' continuous sea-service. The company was at once ordered to its regimental dépôt, and the young lieutenant—certainly no loser by his sufferings—returned to Switzerland the proud possessor of a wound pension of eight hundred livres and bearing upon his breast the Croix de Mérite Militaire. In the interval of leisure which was now vouchsafed him, de Meuron was not idle. On the 3rd of December, 1762, he married a French lady, one Marie Fillon, of Morveaux in the parish of Segousac near Cognac in Angoumois; and a few months later, on the Regiment de Hallwyl being broken up, he applied for and obtained a commission in the Swiss guards of Louis Quinze, being posted to the Regiment d'Erlach. It is to be presumed that the next few years were devoted by de Meuron to the enjoyment of connubial happiness, for we do not again meet with his name until the 22nd of June, 1768, on which day he received his appointment to the grade of captain, with the rank of colonel in the French army: a sufficiently rapid advancement for a young married officer of but thirteen years' service.

When war broke out afresh between France and England during the revolt of our American colonists, Holland joined France and applied to the French Government for the services of a Swiss officer for the purpose of raising a Swiss regiment to assist in the defence of the Dutch East India Company's possessions. The Duc de Choiseul, Colonel General of Switzerland and the Grisons, was then Minister for War and Marine. After several ineffectual attempts to prevail on Swiss officers in French employ to undertake the task, he accepted an offer of assistance from de Meuron, who immediately applied for the formal permission of the Neuchâtel authorities to levy recruits in his old canton. In reply to a letter addressed to them by Major de Sandol Roy, the Quatre Ministres granted the Sieur Meuron de Morveaux full power to enroll the inhabitants and burgesses of Neuchâtel and its banlieue. The permission was, however, conditional on what in these days seems a curious stipulation; namely that for the better administration of justice, the noble company would not fail to provide the regiment with "deux officers grandjuges jurisconsults."⁴

The "capitulation" or engagement between the chevalier de Meuron, "colonel d'infanterie et capitaine-lieutenant des gardes suisses de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne," and P. E. Vandepierre, seigneur of the four bans of Duyreland, a Director of

⁴ François Raymond, grand juge, died at Colombo on the 19th of July 1790. Another, Albert Fivaz, captain lieutenant, left India on pension on the 1st of January 1800, and afterwards served in the English army. He died at Paris in June 1815.

the Netherlands East India Company, was drawn up in triplicate and attested by F. G. Boers, the legal adviser of the Company, at Paris on the 28th of May, 1781. By the terms of the agreement the colonel stood pledged to furnish before the 1st of November a fully armed and equipped regiment of one thousand and twenty units, no one of whom was to be less than five Holland feet in height. The corps was to be "suisse neuchâtelois," and to bear the name of Meuron; its members must be Protestant, and at least two-thirds of them must be drawn from the cantons of the Swiss confederacy. The appointment of the officers was vested in the proprietary colonel with the exception of that of the officers of two companies, the nomination of whom was to lie with the Directors of the Honourable Company: a precaution which suggests that the Dutch authorities were alive to the advantage of some permanent espionage over de Meuron's nominees.

The twenty-five articles of the "capitulation" amply illustrate with what minute and business-like precautions against future contingencies the Dutch East India Company was accustomed to safeguard its interests. It would be difficult to find a single detail of importance, whether relating to equipment, numbers, or finance, which is not clearly laid down in black and white in the model document which gave birth to the Regiment de Meuron. The strength of the regiment is fixed at ten companies of one hundred and two men, with twelve gunners, four sergeants and four corporals attached to every company; the establishment of officers is to consist of a commander with the rank of colonel proprietary, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, ten captains, ten lieutenants, a lieutenant paymaster, three ensigns, a head surgeon with ten assistants, and a sergeant-major. All staff officers are to be of at least six years' service, captains and lieutenants four, and sergeants three. The Swiss military code is to be observed, and neither officers nor men are to be subject to the Dutch tribunals except for the offences of malversation and high treason: the latter especially being, as the "capitulation" quaintly adds, a crime "*ce que ne plaise à Dieu.*" All ranks are to engage themselves for a definite period of five years; in the event of the disbandment of the corps, officers are to receive half pay for the remainder of their lives so long as they are not employed by other powers. Meanwhile the colonel is expressly exhorted to a proper performance of his duties. "*Il leur rendra bonne et brave justice,*" and, with a sudden lapse into the concrete, the contract stipulates, "*et leur paiera leur prête tous les huit jours.*"

The rate of payment, per annum, must have been sufficiently satisfactory to those immediately concerned. While the salary

of the colonel commandant was fixed at three thousand florins annually, that of the private soldier amounted to one hundred and eight florins; the chief surgeon was to receive the pay of a lieutenant, six hundred florins; the major eighteen hundred, an ensign four hundred and eighty, a sergeant two hundred and forty, and a captain twelve hundred. To obviate any future difficulty as to the vexed question of exchange, the florin is stated to be equivalent to vingt sols courant.

On the regiment being mustered and approved, the Company binds itself to pay over to the colonel three hundred pounds French per man for the initial raising of the regiment and its transport to the Ile de Ré, de Meuron, in his turn, undertaking to forfeit ten thousand pounds French, should the establishment on the day appointed for the final muster be more than one hundred men short of the required number. Fifty supernumeraries are allowed to fill up vacancies on the strength before the regiment arrives in the Dutch colonies. A sum of twenty-five thousand florins will be paid over annually by the Company for the renewal of armament and clothing and for recruiting: the condition is attached that whereas future equipment may, in time of war, be purchased in France or elsewhere at the will of the proprietary colonel, in time of peace it shall be only of Dutch make and bought in Holland.⁵

Every detail of dress and equipment is, as might be expected, minutely set forth in the "capitulation." The customary uniform of a Swiss regiment was scarlet, but as de Meuron's troops were to be employed against English red-coats, blue with yellow facings was in this case decreed to take the place of the familiar "*couleur sang de boeuf*." With this, in accordance with the fashion of the time, were worn gaiters and white knee-breeches. The helmet is defined as "*un casque à crinière flottante avec plumet houppe*" bearing the arms of Neuchâtel. It is laid down that privates are to be armed with a "good" musket, a bayonet and, with what seems a superfluity of detail, "a belt to hold that bayonet." Sergeants are to carry a sword, corporals and drummers a sabre. Each unit is to be provided with two pairs of stockings, shoes and gaiters, a knapsack, a working dress, and a nightcap; during the voyage to the East these luxuries are not to be unpacked, but the uniform will be confined to a woollen shirt and trousers, a surtout and a "*bonnet de police*." It is interesting to note that the officer charged with the purchase in Paris of this regimental outfit was Captain Yorck, afterwards to become celebrated in

⁵ The old perquisites of proprietary colonels exist to this day in the emoluments known as "*Colonel's off reckonings*," still drawn by officers of the Indian army.

the Napoleonic campaigns of 1814 as the Prussian Marshal Yorck.

The Regiment de Meuron was granted, by the "capitulation," the use of four standards, to be borne by the companies of the field officers. The principal flag displayed upon a white ground the monogram V.O.C., of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostendische Compagnie) together with the mottoes "Terra et Mare, Fidelitas et Honor," borrowed from the Swiss regiment de Hallwyl, in which de Meuron had served his apprenticeship to arms. The remaining standards carried the colonel's livery colours, black, green, and yellow, with a broad yellow cross upon which the same mottoes were inscribed. The regimental seal bore in its centre the arms of the de Meuron family, around which were grouped the shields of the thirteen Swiss cantons: *accolé* with the colonel's armorial bearings being those of the Dutch East India Company. The proprietary character of the regiment was still further emphasized in the costume of the twenty drummers, two of whom were attached to each company, these, after the usage of the day, being clad in the livery colours of their colonel.

By the end of July, 1781, Charles Daniel de Meuron had carried out his contract, and the regiment of which he was proprietary colonel stood assembled at its appointed rendezvous, the island of Oleron in Brittany. Owing to a series of gales, more than a month elapsed before its embarkation for the Cape. Eight companies alone could find accommodation in the *Fier*, the transport which had been placed at the disposal of de Meuron, and the remainder of the regiment was compelled to proceed to its destination in a smaller vessel. The two ships formed part of an unwieldy convoy of three hundred merchantmen, under the escort of nine French warships commanded by Admiral La Motte Piquet. Harassed at every turn by the English privateers which swarmed the seas like sharks, the huge convoy quickly fell into disorder and the smaller of de Meuron's transports early became detached from her companions. By a happy combination of circumstances, she succeeded in reaching the Cape six weeks earlier than did the *Fier*. Her contingent of troops can hardly be described as the most promising material for a new regiment. During the voyage, indeed, insubordination gradually rose to an extent which must have sorely perplexed the officers on board. The climax was only reached when a plot was hatched to overcome the vessel and turn pirates; an ambition which was discovered in the nick of time by Major de Sandol Roy and not repressed without the greatest difficulty.

The *Fier* meanwhile held by her course with the remainder of the squadron. Her captain, by name d'Alberade, was eager

to push on ahead; de Meuron, with characteristic caution, was as firm in his intention of abiding with the escort. In the light of later events, it was fortunate for the regiment that the colonel successfully opposed the blandishments of d'Alberade. For a chapter of disasters, the progress of the *Fier* merits comparison with the missionary journeys of Saint Paul. Had she proceeded alone upon her voyage, it is hardly open to doubt that the two companies of would-be pirates upon the smaller transport would have represented the entire Regiment de Meuron on their arrival at the Cape.

As things were, the disappearance of the English frigates brought little relief to the tormented flotilla. A succession of equinoctial gales arose which fell with terrible force upon the convoy, and orders were finally given for the vessels to separate. While the admiral with the bulk of the squadron made for the West Indies, seventeen of the ships under escort of the *Hermione* put in at the Canaries in order to refit and water. Among these latter was the *Fier*, which met with so hearty a reception at the hands of the good folk of Santa Cruz that the misfortunes of the voyage were quickly blotted out from the memories of de Meuron and his men. Eight days of November were spent in "feasting and dancing" before the convoy had sufficiently recuperated to pursue its journey to the Cape.

In spite of this refreshment, fresh disasters were none the less in store for the new regiment. Hardly had the squadron left the Canaries on the horizon than it became becalmed. At this inauspicious moment, d'Alberade, who had once been so insistent in his desire to navigate alone, made the alarming announcement that his provisions would not last him till the Cape. The regiment was immediately put on half rations, but to little purpose. Scurvy broke out and in a few days prostrated two hundred and thirty of the eight hundred men on board. There was nothing left but to invoke the aid of the other ships which at a council held on board the *Hermione* consented to provision the *Fier* from their joint store.

All hands must have been thankful when on the 6th of January 1782 Table Mountain hove in sight. Next day, the regiment landed at Cape Town, and its colonel lost no time in forwarding to the Governor, Baron Plettenberg, a detailed letter of complaint against the captain of the *Fier*.⁶ In this document—justly described in its concluding paragraph as "une

⁶ It is interesting to note the officers who signed this document, as it contains the earliest record of their names; de Meuron Motiers, de Gerbolles, Lardy-Bessardon, Jequier, Duvois, Gradcourt, Bailly, Touchon, Bied, Gradmann, Dubois, Chevalier de La Raitrie, Dauphin, Muriel, Bernard, Boysser and Garnier.

longue épître"—de Meuron declaimed with indignation against the sieur d'Alberade who, intent solely on securing a good market at the Cape, had filled the hold with merchandise. To so great an extent was the vessel encumbered with "pacotilles," that it had been found necessary to relegate not merely the soldiers' effects but the ammunition itself to an exposed quarter of the deck, where the combined action of sun and rain had quickly conspired to render them useless. As a result of insufficient food and water, one hundred and three men had died of scurvy; several had fallen overboard for want of proper fittings to the ship's side; while some forty had been impressed to do the work of the ship's crew. Nor had the officers fared better. The supplies of the mess had been ruthlessly pillaged by the captain's servant. This individual, who had already acquired an unenviable notoriety by detection in the act of diluting the soldiers' eau de vie with eau de mer, yet further succeeded in establishing a "corner" in so indispensable a necessity of life as drinking water. This he was able to retail to the officers from his master's private store at the monopoly rate of a crown a bottle, with no greater punishment, when complaint rose too high to be stifled, than condemnation for twenty-four hours to sailors' fare. Even if we cannot justify every item in de Meuron's bill of damages for two hundred and seventy thousand florins—a sum which included an indemnity of three hundred florins for every soldier on the ground of the permanent injury to his health caused by privation—it is clear that the treatment accorded to the officers and men, for whose maritime conveyance the Dutch Company had paid as much as twelve hundred florins per head, was anything but desirable or satisfactory.⁷ Protest, unfortunately, proved of no avail. The Governor was not unnaturally reluctant to enter into the merits of a controversy which bid fair to swell into a bulky volume, and contented himself with referring de Meuron to his principals in Europe; a mode of obtaining redress which would no doubt have required a larger expenditure of patience than the colonel was now able to bestow upon the matter.

Hardly, in fact, had the regiment recovered from the effects of the voyage than it was re-embarked upon the *Hermione* and despatched to Ceylon to re-inforce the fleet of that "amiral diable," the Bailli de Suffren. After having taken part in the expulsion of the English from Trincomalee, it was ordered to Cuddalore, then sorely beset by the English under General Stuart. Here the regiment was in time to join in the sortie of the 25th of June 1783: a sortie rendered memorable by the

⁷ That this was an excessive charge is shown by the fact that the King of France paid only 600 florins a head for the transport of his men to the Ile de France on board these very ships.

British capture of a young French sergeant in the regiment of Aquitaine of the name of Bernadotte, the future General of the Empire and King of Sweden and Norway. Previous to this the corps had been afloat and engaged in the two sea-fights between Suffren and Sir Edward Hughes; when we read that an English broadside was so successfully directed as to bring down the mainmast of the *Héros* and at one stroke annihilate some forty of the regiment who were serving as marines.⁸

On the conclusion of peace, de Meuron and his men were ordered to Ceylon, whence, after a short stay, they returned to the Cape. Here they shared garrison duty with the French Regiment de Pondicherry, then under the command of Colonel Gordon. Difficulties soon arose between the two regiments, for the French soldiers displayed a noticeable reluctance in saluting the de Meuron colours. Naturally enough, in consequence, wounded honour sought satisfaction in the customary manner and the officers indulged themselves in a lengthy succession of duels, from which the colonels do not appear to have been exempted. Other troubles were in store, moreover. Not a few men of the Regiment de Meuron deserted about this time, being enticed up-country by the Dutch Boers to serve as farm-hands. Those of the fugitives who could be captured were shot, but there can be no doubt that the regiment suffered a considerable diminution in its ranks, and its relief in 1786 by the Regiment de Wurtemberg was only just in time to prevent complete disorganisation.

Barras, the Revolutionary Director and protector of Josephine, who was soldiering at the Cape in 1781, gives a curious picture of the place in his memoirs. "At the time of my arrival at the Cape of Good Hope," he writes, "its governor was a fat Dutchman, M. Pletinberg, a member of the Netherlands East India Company. His wife was of opinion that her personal fatness conferred on her the right of being as insolent as her husband. These two vain creatures, who lived isolated

⁸ Innes Muhro in his "Narrative of Military Operations on the Coromandel Coast" states that on the 15th of February 1782 Admiral Hughes "recaptured five vessels which had been taken from us to the northward of Madras. The sixth was the *Lauriston*, a transport captured by the *Isis*, Captain Lumley, which contained many officers and 300 men of the Regiment of Lausanne. "Lausanne seems a mistake for Neuchâtel; and if the vessel was captured, she must have been retaken", for the French account shows that all the troops of Suffren's *corps d'armée* were subsequently landed at Porto Novo. The action in which the French flagship *Héros* lost her main mast was fought on the 20th of September 1782. "The hurrahs of the English first showed Suffren that they thought he had struck his flag. Not for long did they remain under this delusion. Rushing on the poop, Suffren cried with a voice which sounded above the roar of the combat: 'Bring flags, bring up all the white flags that are below and cover my ship with them!'"

in their palace, were the terror of the inhabitants." Barras was at the time a cadet in the regiment of Pondicherry, which Suffren's squadron had landed at Table Bay on the 21st of June 1781, after a severe brush *en route* with Admiral Hughes off San Jago, one of the Cape Verd Islands. Under orders of the Count de Conway, Suffren had disembarked both the Pondicherry regiment and a part of the regiment of Austrasia. "These joined to a Dutch battalion under Colonel Gordon, a man of military talent, were to form the garrison which the Court of Versailles, convinced that the existence of our squadrons and the retention of the Ile de France and of India depended on our retaining possession of the Cape, had sent thither to defend them against British attacks." Barras served abroad till March 1783, when a quarrel with de Conway happily ended in his being sent home with despatches. Shortly afterwards he resigned his commission and settled in Paris.

From the Cape, the regiment de Meuron was sent back to Ceylon, leaving behind it a depôt of thirty-three men commanded by Captain Zorn and Lieutenants Bore and Kibourg. Arrived at Ceylon, Colonel Charles Daniel de Meuron seized the opportunity to leave the regiment, making over the command to Pierre Frédéric, his younger brother. The reason of this sudden determination reveals the astuteness of the colonel. Some years before, the precaution had been taken to obtain the consent of the States General to declare the regiment hereditary property. Colonel de Meuron's union with Mademoiselle Fillon had not been blessed with offspring. On the other hand, Pierre Frédéric was not only the father of children but his presumptive heir. It needed no great gift of political prophecy on the part of Charles Daniel de Meuron to perceive that, while the regiment might safely be left in the hands of his successor, the presence of its proprietor in Europe and a proper exercise of influence at headquarters could not fail to add to its value as a family commercial asset. The actual transfer of command, unfortunately, was not effected without considerable opposition on the part of the officers, who were less alive to the motives which were actuating their colonel. The duelling epidemic which had been so prevalent at the Cape revived, and Pierre Frédéric was twice "called out," happily without injury to his life or character. To make matters worse, several of the most promising officers resigned their commissions. Included among these, it is of interest to note in passing, were the brothers de Sandol Roy, of whom one was at that time lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, while the other held the rank of captain. Both had previously served with distinction in the Swiss Regiment de Bocard in French employ, and both had successful careers after leaving the Regiment de Meuron. The elder, François,

had at the Cape struck up a friendship both with the future Marshals Yorck and with Barras, who was then, as we have seen, a cadet in the Regiment de Pondicherry. The acquaintance proved a useful one in later years, for in 1815 Barras was enabled to obtain for him a post on the staff of General Bachmann. He died at Neuchâtel in 1827. The younger brother, Simon, after a short apprenticeship to arms in the Regiment de Bocard, had seen service, before joining the colours of de Meuron, under Frederic the Great in Prussia and in Poland. On resigning his commission in the Regiment de Meuron, he passed into the Dutch military service and was appointed Governor of Malacca and subsequently Captain-General of all the Company's European troops in the Dutch Indies. It has been recorded to his credit that, so long as he retained command, the English were foiled in their attempts to conquer Java.

During its sojourn in Ceylon, the Regiment de Meuron—perhaps by way of putting an end to further dissensions in its rank—was employed in two expeditions against the King of Kandy. In these, however, greater difficulties appear to have been encountered from nature than from the natives.⁹ The soldiers, none the less, we read, “conservèrent leur belle humeur.” The regiment had at this period a battery of eight guns, but their services were little requisitioned. Several detachments of men were scattered among the various garrisons of the Island, and others stationed in India. The next few years were spent, indeed, in comparative inactivity, and Charles Daniel de Meuron had small reason to regret the relinquishment of his command.

A trifling interlude was afforded in 1793 when two companies under Captain Pierre Lardy of Auvernier (the same who afterwards led the grenadier company at the storming of Seringapatam) escorted Governor Van Angelbeck from Cochin to Colombo. It was this Cochin contingent of which we read in Grandpré's “Voyage to the Indian Ocean and Bengal, undertaken in 1789-90.” “I found,” he writes, “the Regiment de Meuron in garrison at Cochin. This Swiss Regiment levied in France was composed of Frenchmen, several of whom offered me their services ; including one who had been bred a butcher, and undertook to supply me with all the meat and livestock I

⁹ Percival in his Account of the Island of Ceylon gives a different picture. “About twenty years ago the Dutch again penetrated into the King of Kandy's country, but were attacked by the natives with so much spirit that the present General de Meuron, then a Colonel in the Dutch service, narrowly escaped being taken with a large detachment near Sittivacca, and by accidentally taking a different road from that which the Candians expected he would, he got safe to Colombo.”

might require to take away with me. The wish to benefit a fellow countryman induced me to accept his offer."

Pierre Lardy was again singled out for special duty in 1794, when the Dutch Government placed four companies of the regiment under his command at Negapatam. The regiment, indeed, must have been considerably scattered about this time, whether in garrison or for the purpose of affording travelling protection to the Dutch officials. In the same year, Governor Van Graaf, who had been appointed Director-General at Batavia,¹⁰ took with him from Colombo an escort of sixty-two men of the regiment under Captain Samuel Gigaud and Lieutenant J. B. Vautier. Captain Gigaud, a close personal friend of the Governor, was selected to command the troops on board the four men-of-war composing the squadron; but neither he nor Vautier lived long to enjoy their honours. Both succumbed within the year to the effects of the climate, which also carried off two-thirds of the soldiers, and, as a result of this disastrous expedition, there returned to Colombo no more than thirteen men under charge of a "fourrier," who had gone out a simple corporal and thus unexpectedly came back as senior officer of the remnant of the company.

The inaction of the regiment was not to endure much longer. In 1795, the French Revolution was destined to throw the affairs of the Dutch East India Company into complete confusion. The French under Pichegru overran Holland, entered Amsterdam, and proclaimed the Batavian Republic. The Prince of Orange, the hereditary stadtholder, fled with his family to England, and placed the Dutch colonies abroad under the protection of the British. It followed as a matter of course that his orders were at once countermanded by the republican authorities in Holland, and the colonial governments quickly became the victims of disorganisation. Suddenly came the news of the battle of Camperdown and the destruction of Dutch trade. The Vereenigde Oostendische Compagnie was bankrupt.

On the 1st of August 1795 followed the English invasion of Ceylon. The bulk of the Regiment de Meuron—its pay fallen into arrears and discontent manifest in its ranks—lay with its Colonel at Colombo. Three detachments, each

¹⁰ At his departure Van Graaf delivered a long memorandum to his successor Van Angelbeck dated Colombo, 15th July 1794, on which he writes: "Our military force now consists as follows—11 companies National Europeans, 10 companies of the Regiment de Meuron, 5 companies of the Regiment de Wurtemberg, 5 companies Malays, 9 companies Sepoys, 9 companies of Artillery, not including the invalids and a few old Europeans and the natives detached to the small out-posts." Colonel D. C. Von Driberg (who died at Negapatam, 22nd June 1804) commanded the forces, and Colonel Elias Paravicini the Artillery.

of two companies, held Trincomalee, Fort Ostenburg, and Point de Galle.¹¹ The little army to defend the coast did not in all exceed three thousand men and fell an easy prey to the organised invader. The English under Colonel Stuart and Admiral Rainier began operations by landing at Trincomalee in the face of a tremendous surf. After a stubborn resistance, the place surrendered to them on the 27th of August, and the detachment of the Regiment de Meuron—one company under H. D. de Meuron-Motiers having lost as many as thirty men out of the eighty who composed it—was taken prisoner and deported to Madras. The defenders of Port Ostenburg capitulated four days later. Point de Galle had its communications cut off. Fort Batticaloa surrendered on the 18th of September. Punto Pedro, Jaffnapatam, and Manaar followed suit in quick succession.

Colombo alone continued to hold out through the untiring energy of the Regiment de Meuron. Owing to the indisposition of the Dutch commander, the supreme authority rested in the hands of Pierre Frédéric de Meuron who was the heart and soul of the defence. A vigorous resistance was being offered by the beleaguered garrison when their efforts were rendered unavailing by an unexpected thunderbolt.

The investment of Colombo was at its height when word arrived that Charles Daniel de Meuron had ceded his regiment to England and was then on his return to India in order to personally supervise its transfer.

One is not surprised to learn that Pierre Frédéric received the news with incredulity and showed no inclination to suspend hostilities. Himself a commander of dogged perseverance, he resolved upon defending Colombo to the last. But there was only hardship and small glory to be gained in the service of a bankrupt company, and neither officers nor men required much persuasion to follow the example of the proprietor of the regiment to whom they considered their allegiance to be mainly due. A promise was obtained from Major Agnew the British envoy, that the regiment would not be called upon to serve against the Dutch, and de Meuron had no option but to acquiesce in the wishes of the force which he commanded. By a document drawn up under the hand and seal of the Governor of the Island, the Regiment de Meuron was formally released from its oath to the Dutch

¹¹ The garrison of Trincomalee consisted of 788 officers and men, of whom 185 were Dutch, 84 Swiss, 136 Wurtembergers and 363 Malays and Sepoys. Fort Ostenburg was garrisoned by 8 artillerymen, 69 of de Meuron Regiment, 32 Dutchmen, 54 Wurtembergers and 89 Malays. Batticaloa had a weak garrison of 39 Europeans and 98 natives.

Company, the statement being appended that its colonel had conducted himself throughout as a man of honour.¹²

Embarkation for Tuticorin was fixed for the 27th of October following. Vague rumours of mutiny on the part of a few discontented spirits fortunately came to nought. The Governor, Van Angelbeck, must, notwithstanding, have been considerably relieved when in that Sunday morning the companies marched for the last time past his house to the Place d'Amsterdam in perfect order: three cases of drunkenness among the men being the only disquieting symptoms which he afterwards reported. By the 29th of October, the last of the regiment had left the quay, being played out of the town to the tune of "*Malbrouck s'en va t'en guerre*," an air which had been specially selected for the occasion by the chef de musique, Bernard, and which, we are told, "*égaya toute la population*." One hundred and fifty women, children, and slaves accompanied the regiment, which embarked on three Dutch chaloupes and a vessel commanded by Pierre Monneron, the same who on the 1st of May, 1792, had been chosen with Beylié deputies of French India to the Assemblée Nationale at Paris.¹³

The Galle companies gave more trouble. Although stringent orders had been issued that no member of the regiment should remain on the Island, recruiting for the Dutch army was being extensively carried on *sub rosa* in the ranks by individuals who "*se disant patriotes*" winked openly at desertion. Matters arrived at such a pass that Captain Zweifel (who was one day to command the regiment in succession to Lardy) was hurriedly despatched to hasten the embarkation of the companies. One shipload under Lieutenant Senn reached Tuticorin safely on the 7th of November; the other which should have started with seventy-three men arrived with but twenty-six on board, the remainder having deserted on the eve of their departure. Matters were

¹² Colombo surrendered on the 15th of February 1796. The garrison was composed of 95 officers, 909 European troops, 1,840 Malays and Sepoys and 281 seamen—3,125 in all.

¹³ The *Bombay Courier* for the 19th of October 1797 records, "A private letter has been received within these few days from Muscat, of which for the present we can only learn that it relates the death of Mons. P. Monneron, who did not survive, as we had hoped, the loss of his vessel upon the Arabian Coast. Were M. Monneron less known in the commercial world of India, this article might have been omitted; but the memory of a man, who, like him, has explored with such industry the resources of trade in each quarter of the world; who has successively tasted, with the same equanimity, the plenitude of wealth and a penniless poverty; who has so magnanimously struggled with such a rare tide of misfortune; and whose mind was enriched with such a store of information; we say, such a man, unless we have been deceived in him, merits a tribute of respect."

not improved by a short halt at Colombo in order that Zweifel might take leave of the Governor, for Jacobinism was then rampart in the city and several of the Swiss soldiers were persuaded by a certain Major Vaugine to escape from their quarters and embrace the new cult.

Robert Percival of the 19th Regiment of Foot, who served throughout the Ceylon campaign, gives a different version of the capitulation of Colombo in his "Account of the Island of Ceylon." According to him, the Regiment de Meuron had already transferred its services to England before General Stuart landed at Negombo in February 1796. Its agreement with the Dutch Company had, no doubt, expired some three months previously: but it is difficult to believe that the regiment voluntarily changed its masters in the hour of danger. The Dutch in their turn tell their own story of the downfall of the capital. They openly assert the treason of Governor Van Angelbeck and imply that as the Stadtholder in 1795 had thrown himself on the protection of the English, the Governor of Ceylon had contrived the surrender of the island in order to gratify his new allies. Monsieur C. F. Thombe, an officer who had served in Batavia, published in 1811 his *Voyage aux Indes orientales*, in the second volume of which he has inserted an apology for the capture of Colombo from data supplied by him by individuals at Java, who had served during the brief assault. He specifies vigorous and earnest preparations for the siege for months before it actually took place, which were ostensibly continued up to the approach of the English. But he recalls many suspicious acts of the Governor prior to and during the advance of the British. At length on their march to Colombo and the appearance of the English squadron in the roads, the Governor's conduct became unequivocal. He held frequent conferences with Major Agnew, the English envoy, who landed from a frigate in the offing; and immediately after his departure, the Regiment de Meuron announced their intention to transfer their allegiance to the British. Van Angelbeck then commenced to conceal his plate and valuables, and awaited the enemy with a composure that, coupled with a multitude of minor circumstances, awoke the garrison to consciousness that they had been betrayed. "Le 16 février toutes les troupes pensant avec raison qu'elles étaient trahis voulurent se révolter et plusieurs coups de fusils étaient dirigés sur la maison du Gouverneur Van Angelbeck" (Vol. II, p. 214). Under these circumstances the doomed fortress surrendered: and such was the indignation of the soldiers that nothing but the presence of the English saved the Governor from their vengeance.

It is certainly a remarkable circumstance that Van Angel-

beck should have remained in Ceylon after the capture of Colombo. He lived there for several years, and eventually committed suicide. The Dutch have made no mention of the latter fact, but Cordiner describes his funeral by torchlight in September 1799, when "the body was deposited in the family vault by the side of his wife, whose skeleton was seen through a glass in the cover of the coffin."

With the arrival at Tuticorin of what had now become His Majesty's Regiment de Meuron, a new chapter opens in its history.¹⁴ Since its foundation in 1781 to the 31st of October 1795, there has passed through the ranks two thousand two hundred and seventy-seven non-commissioned officers and men. Of these, forty-two had met their death in battle, principally at Trincomalee, one hundred and thirty-nine had died at sea, three hundred and twenty-nine had died in hospital: making a total mortality of five hundred and ten. No less than six hundred and thirty-seven men had been dismissed the regiment, one hundred and eighty-nine had deserted, and fifty-five were prisoners of war. Twenty-seven cadets and non-commissioned officers had, on the other hand, won for themselves commissions in the regiment. Of the fifty-three officers who had served the Dutch Company during the fourteen years which had elapsed since the foundation of the corps, as many as twelve were members of the family de Meuron.

The transformation into a British regiment of what, to judge from the proportion of dismissals and desertions, had degenerated into a discontented and undisciplined body of irregulars, displays the exercise of a certain sagacity on the part of its proprietary colonel. The negotiations despite the suddenness of the transfer had been prolonged and tedious. As far back, indeed, as 1793 the military authorities in India had, in a despatch addressed to Lord Fitzgerald, reported to the Home Government on the possibilities and advantages of acquiring in their own interest the services of so formidable a corps of mercenaries. The flight of the Stadtholder to England at length induced the War Office to consider, and after much hesitation to accept, the recommendation. In the beginning of 1795, orders were finally issued to Colonel Hugh Cleghorn to proceed to Neuchâtel on an urgent mission for the purpose of endeavouring to arrange terms with Charles Daniel de Meuron. The bargaining, as was to be expected, proved a complicated matter, and was terminated only by an offer of the British Government to pay the whole of the arrears owed

¹⁴ A number of Wurtembergers also took service with the British, for 68 of them figure among the Madras troops which landed at Banda and captured the Spice Islands in March 1796.

to the proprietor by the now bankrupt Dutch East India Company. On the 30th of March, however, a provisional agreement was signed, and ratified by Dundas on the condition that de Meuron should at once proceed to India and personally superintend the transfer of the regiment.¹⁵ He and Cleghorn accordingly started off by the overland route from Venice to Alexandria and Cairo and thence to Suez, landing eventually at Madras after a troublesome journey on the twenty-fourth of September. Nearly a year later, on the 2nd of August 1796, the capitulation signed at Neuchâtel by Colonel Cleghorn was at length ratified by the Government of Madras, the signatories in addition to de Meuron being the Governor, Lord Hobart, together with his members of Council, Sir Alured Clarke, E. Saunders, and E. Fallofield. It might have been supposed that the transformation of the Regiment de Meuron had now definitely been effected. In reality, the negotiations were only just beginning. De Meuron had still to reckon with the British War Office. On his arrival in England at the close of 1797,¹⁶ he found his hands fully occupied. For various reasons, indeed, the Madras "capitulation" was no longer entirely approved in London: reasons not unconnected with the matter of the Dutch arrears, payment of which had been withheld in Madras owing to the non-arrival of certain necessary documents. Enquiry at the War Office elicited the surprising information that the name of the Regiment de Meuron was unknown to the officials. Repeated applications to Dundas remained unanswered. "I am as yet," naively protests de Meuron, "without the answer which I may truly say that I await with as much impatience as the Jews did their Messiah." In a letter to de Meuron-Motiers, he expresses himself more forcibly: the Ministers are so astonishingly occupied "que c'est une mer à boire pour les voir et pour obtenir des décisions." Finally an interview with Dundas was accorded, and de Meuron found himself confronted with the absolute refusal of the Government to settle the arrears of the Dutch Company. Nothing daunted, however, he as resolutely refused to agree to any such condition, and enlisted in his support the influence of Mlle. de Montmollin, a Neuchâtel lady at that time in favour at the English Court. Backed by her assistance,

¹⁵ Captain J. J. de Bolle, who had served up till 1790 in the regiment de Sonnenberg, accompanied de Meuron as Aide-de-Camp. He and Lieutenant de Dardel were afterwards associated with Cleghorn in 1796 in a mission to the King of Kandy.

¹⁶ De Meuron left for Europe in March 1797 on board the *Barrington* with Captain de Bolle, Lieutenant d'Yvernois of Saint Sulpice and Samuel de Meuron, son of Lieut.-Colonel de Meuron. On board the same ship was Lord Abercromby. After a stormy passage, during which the fleet had to put in for several weeks at Newfoundland, de Meuron reached Deal on December 13th, 1797.

de Meuron continued to maintain a steadfast attitude, and a satisfactory compromise was eventually agreed upon, by which, in addition to the thirty thousand pounds already paid him by the authorities in India, he was to receive a further grant of eighty thousand pounds in full discharge of all such arrears as might be owing to the regiment by the Dutch East India Company. An agreement embodying these terms was presented to him by General Nesbitt "*en le laissant dans l'alternative de l'accepter immédiatement ou de perdre son régiment*": a sudden decision on the part of the War Office which sufficed to bring the negotiations to a point at which de Meuron was compelled to acquiesce.

The revised contract was drawn up and signed on the 25th of September 1798 by Charles Daniel de Meuron and General John Ramsay. By the terms of the agreement, the British Government undertook to grant to de Meuron himself the rank and pay of Major-General in the British service, and declared that he and all the officers of his regiment should henceforth rank with officers of the King's service in accordance with the respective dates of their commissions. The sum of three thousand pounds was in addition to be paid annually to de Meuron in order to meet the expenses of keeping the regiment up to its full complement. The King engaged the regiment for ten years certain; if, at the expiration of that period the engagement should not be renewed, the officers were to be placed on English half-pay so long as they might refrain from accepting military employment under other powers. The appointment and promotion of the officers, who must be of Swiss extraction, was stated to remain in the hands of the colonel proprietary, subject to confirmation by His Majesty. The establishment, dress, and equipment of the regiment was henceforward to conform to that of the British infantry. The regiment was, however, permitted to retain its own colours with the addition of the Union Jack in the upper inner canton,¹⁷ and the Swiss marches were further authorised except on parade. The strength of the regiment was fixed at nine hundred and fifty men, not including a hundred corporals and sergeants and the usual number of commissioned officers. A chaplain was attached to the corps and three surgeons were appointed in place of the eleven who owed their position to the paternal care of the Swiss Federal authorities. For every German recruit it was arranged that de Meuron should receive the sum of sixteen and a half pounds, the terms being the same as those of the 60th regiment of Hanoverians; for every Swiss recruit, the rate of payment was

¹⁷ In 1814 General Rottenburg reported that the old flags, then 18 years in use, were not in accordance with regulations, and recommended that the yellow cross dividing the fields should be light blue

to be half as much again, owing to the difficulty of procuring soldiers of that nationality. Finally, it was laid down that the contract should take effect only from the 1st of January, 1799. During the intervening period, the regiment was to rank as an auxiliary corps, independent of the British army, and liable to be called upon for service only in cases of necessity.

With the completion of his labours, de Meuron retired to Neuchâtel to enjoy the dignity and emoluments of his new position as a British Major-General. That his regiment had proved a successful speculation admits of little question, and his later years were passed in a leisured affluence which quickly ensured for him a leading share in the affairs of the Swiss township. The close of his career was as uneventful as his earlier life had been adventurous. On the 6th of April 1806, he died and was accorded a military funeral by order of the French General Oudinot, his old comrade in arms in the regiment d'Erlach, who was at the time in command of Neuchâtel. The final ceremony seems, however, to have stirred up resentment among the more turbulent spirits in the city. Evil tongues were not wanting to reproach the French with having granted military honours to a British general. To such an extent, indeed, did "ces propos d'auberge" exasperate the French grenadiers that an attempt was actually made to disinter the body and to throw it into the lake: a chivalrous project which was checked only by the personal influence of General Oudinot, and which forms a characteristic conclusion to the career of the soldier of fortune who had sold his regiment to England.

In the meantime, however, the regiment had by no means taken unkindly to its new masters. On its arrival at Tuticorin in November 1795, it had been warmly welcomed and had speedily adapted itself to the new conditions. Drawbacks there had doubtless been at first. Pierre Frédéric de Meuron, who had found accommodation in the quarters of the late commandant, complained that the most indispensable furniture was lacking and that he "ne trouva pas même de quoi faire un peu de lumière." The discomfort, fortunately, proved of short duration. After Tuticorin the first destination was Madras, but, owing to the rivers being in flood, it was found impossible to transfer the entire regiment. Two companies only were in consequence stationed at Madras from the end of November 1795 to December 1796, while the others were ordered to Poonamallee and Colombo and later to Negapatam.

In 1797, Colonel Pierre Frédéric de Meuron was appointed Military Governor of Ceylon. The post was hardly an enviable one. No less than three Military Governors had died within the five months that England had been in possession of the island. The first was Colonel Petrie, of the 73rd Regiment, the cap-

turer of Cochin in 1795. The second was General Doyle, who died in June 1797. Colonel Bonnevaux of the Company's service, the next senior officer on the island, succeeded him : but had only arrived three or four days at Colombo from his former command at Point de Galle, when he was killed by his currie upseting as he drove out through one of the gates, and was buried within a week after his predecessor. De Meuron was appointed by Lord Hobart from Madras, and in addition to taking the command was placed at the head of a commission to investigate into the revenue departments. Mr. Andrews, a Madras civilian, had been brought into the island as Superintendent of the Ceylon revenues and had swept away the Dutch system of imports and collections, substituting in all its severity the Carnatic system with a host of extortionate Malabar dubashes to enforce it. Discontent became so great that the Singhalese rose in revolt, and it was not till after considerable loss on both sides that the insurgents were subdued. The Augean task of reforming such a state of affairs was entrusted to de Meuron, and continued by Frederick North, afterwards Earl of Guildford, who relieved him in October 1798 as the first British Governor. The latter made short work of the "infamous faction of Madras civilians" by wholesale dismissal, suspension and enforced resignation. The recommendations of the de Meuron commission constitute a valuable state paper and were forwarded by North to the Marquis of Wellesley. They are now among the Wellesley papers in the British Museum, where they form Nos. 13864, 5, 6 and 7 in the catalogue of additional manuscripts. De Meuron continued as Brigadier-General commanding the troops in Ceylon till February the 7th 1799, when, being too late to join his regiment in the field, he was transferred to the command at Vellore.

In July 1796, a curious incident diversified the monotony of the regiment's existence. The officers in that month despatched to the magistrates at Neuchâtel a lengthy and remarkable letter expressing their entire satisfaction at their transfer from the service of "une compagnie idéale" to that of England. Twenty-one officers at Poonamallee and twelve at Vellore appended their signatures to this interesting document. The penultimate paragraph alludes in flattering terms to Charles Daniel de Meuron, the "father" of the regiment. "Le corps d'officiers, pénétré de reconnaissance pour son respectable père, a cru ne pouvoir la lui témoigner mieux qu'en demandant à son colonel-commandant, Monsieur le Brigadier-General Pierre Frédéric de Meuron, la permission de vous écrire, Messieurs et très honorables magistrats, pour vous faire part des sentiments qui l'animait, persuadé, qu'en voyant que les soins et les travaux du General Major ont tiré vos enfants, vos parents, vos

compatriotes, du précipice où ils étaient prêts à tomber, vous lui en tiendrez compte en approuvant ses démarches ; et comme il retourne dans le sein de sa patrie, il y trouvera l'accueil que méritent ses bienfaits, lesquels ne se bornent point à tout ce qui tient aux individus qui composent aujourd'hui le régiment, mais s'étendent sur tous les Neuchâtelois que le goût pour le service militaire pourra porter à y entrer. La bonne volonté de tout le corps, la confiance entière que nous sommes fondés à donner à notre colonel commandant, nous donnent lieu d'espérer que nous ne diminuerons pas l'opinion que l'on a des Suisses, en joignant à toutes ces considérations l'assurance que nous vous donnons qu'il ne s'est pas trouvé parmi nous un seul partisan des principes qui ont bouleversé l'Europe, et qu'au contraire nous chérissons tous les gouvernements sous lesquels nous avons le bonheur de naître."

In 1798 the news of Bonaparte's landing in Egypt gave promise of new employment for the regiment, but the orders for its departure were for some reason countermanded. A detachment of twenty men, however, under Sergeant Portinger accompanied General Lake to Calcutta and embarked thence for Egypt. The expedition can hardly be described as having been successful. In 1801, the sergeant returned alone to India, his entire command having fallen victims to the Arabs.

At the commencement of the Mysore campaign, six companies of the regiment under Major H. D. de Meuron were in garrison at Tripassore, the remaining four being stationed at Vellore under Lieutenant-Colonel de Meuron-Bulot, whom sickness prevented from taking part in the coming operations. In December, 1798, the regiment joined the Wallajahbad division under General Floyd and a month later was paraded with the Grand Army and inspected by General Harris. The entire Madras column now numbered twenty thousand men, mostly European. One half were cavalry, whilst the park of artillery was the most formidable that had yet been gathered together in the East. Six brigades were formed, two of European troops and four of sepoys ; the Regiment de Meuron being assigned with the 33rd and 73rd regiments to the second Brigade under Colonel the Hon'ble Arthur Wellesley. As may be imagined, the progress of this vast array was in no wise conspicuous for its rapidity. Three months, indeed, elapsed before it came within sight of Seringapatam, being joined on the way by the Bombay army under General Stuart and by a force of twelve thousand of the Nizam's soldiers commanded by Meer Allum.

De Meuron Bayard, then a marching captain in the regiment, and seventeen years later its commander, has left a detailed diary of his experiences in this campaign. The

volume is still preserved in the Neuchâtel library, and its pages offer many graphic details of the storm which are not to be found elsewhere.

During its passage over the ghauts, the Regiment de Meuron, which had been posted on the left wing with the baggage and artillery, suffered severely both from heat and from privation, Tippoo having been careful to devastate the villages on the line of route, however much he may have neglected to defend the passes. The draught cattle, in particular, died by hundreds daily as the result of want of fodder, and the heavy guns had to be drawn by elephants or, where these failed, by men. Meanwhile the Mysore cavalry hovered about the flanks, paying special attention to the baggage train. On the 25th of March, de Meuron Bayard records that he was nearly cut off while carrying orders to the rear-guard of the regiment under Captain Pierre Renaud. In eluding the pursuit of three horsemen, he took the wrong direction and found himself suddenly in the burning village of Sultanpet, Hyder's reputed birth-place: a predicament from which he only extricated himself finally through the superior staying powers of his horse.

Two days later came the battle of Maravelly, memorable as the first occasion on which the future Duke of Wellington was under fire. Part of the regiment de Meuron was actively engaged for three hours and lost seven killed and as many wounded. The road was now open to Seringapatam, and the English still further deluded Tippoo, who expected them to take the route Lord Cornwallis had adopted in the last war, by advancing in the other direction across the Cauvery. On the 2nd of April, the advance guard was within sight of the island fortress, and the Swiss diarist found leisure to indulge in a glowing description of the luxury which was prevalent in the besieger's camp. The British soldier, we read, did not cook his dinner, did not carry his knapsack, did not groom his horse. All he did was to fight, everything else being done for him by lascars. Officers, we are told, carried each a cook, a couple of body-servants, a syce, a grasscutter and half-a-dozen baggage carriers, in addition to two oxen for the conveyance of their tents; while those of higher rank sometimes indulged themselves with a satrap's suite of as many as five hundred followers.

Even the Regiment de Meuron travelled with human impedimenta in the shape of several of its officers' wives. The most prominent among these appears to have been Madame de Meuron Roger, the lady of Major H. D. de Meuron-Motiers who, with her three daughters, took the field upon an elephant.¹⁸

¹⁸ The youthful occupants of the howdah, it may be remarked in passing, all married in India. Suzanne in 1806 became the wife of Adjutant

Once in the trenches, these courageous ladies must have soon repented their determination. Life ere long became anything but easy for the besiegers. Provisions ran short, until on the 17th of April bread was being sold at a rupee the quarter of the pound. Finally the commissariat reported that food supplies would not last beyond the 9th of May and it was found necessary to put the entire army on half rations. Lieutenant and Quartermaster Louis de Pury—who on the 21st of March 1801 was killed in a duel by Lieutenant Alexandre Lequin, the latter being in consequence cashiered—writing home to his father relates how his clothes were drenched and dried upon him three times within twenty-four hours. “Cependant,” he adds, “tout le monde étoit content et ne désiroit que de se battre.” The enemy, for their part, gave them every opportunity, and displayed so great activity that every foot of ground gained for the entrenchments was disputed at the point of the bayonet. The Swiss soldiers took their full share of work, being employed first in the defence of Shawe’s Post, one of the earliest gained, and then in conjunction with the second battalion of the 12th Madras Infantry in the capture of the Powder Mill, known henceforward as Macdonald’s Post. In the two days’ fighting of the 26th and 27th of April round Sultanpet Tope, the regiment lost twelve killed and twenty-five men wounded. Assistant Surgeon Lesser was decapitated by a cannon-ball while Captain Piauchaud of the Chasseur Company and Lieutenant Guisant were both wounded. Sergeant-Major Zehnpfennig particularly distinguished himself by his gallantry during these attacks, in which the Eighth Company was led into action by the diarist de Meuron-Bayard, in the place of Lieutenant Baer who was on duty with the heavy ordnance. In a few more days, the breaching batteries were planted, several of the heavier guns being dragged across the Cauvery by the Swiss soldiers. On the 2nd of May, Lieutenant Lalor of the 73rd forded the river at great risk and reported the breach practicable. That

Jean Jacques de Gaechter who in later years served as aide-de-camp to General Baird at the bombardment of Copenhagen and eventually rose to the colonelcy of the Fourth Regiment of Swiss Guards in Paris, dying at Yverdon in 1840. Petronilla in 1805 married Lieutenant P. F. de Casselli, later a miniature painter at Pondicherry, where he died in 1817. Her second husband was J. Dayot, Intendant-General of the French establishments in India, on whose death in 1821 she was left in reduced circumstances. The French Government having refused her a pension on the ground that her father and her first husband had both been officers in British service, she then petitioned the Directors of the East India Company who in 1825 granted her a compassionate allowance of seventy rupees per mensem. This pittance she lived to enjoy for no less than fifty-four years more.

same night, the enemy's rocket factory in the heart of the town blew up with a tremendous explosion, "ce qui," adds de Meuron-Bayard, "nous fournit un superbe feu d'artifice, aussi difficile à imiter qu'à décrire." Much damage had been caused by these projectiles, in the launching of which the Mysoreans were especially expert; one rocket having carried off the arm of Colonel Montagu, commanding the Bengal artillery, who succumbed subsequently to his injuries.

By the 3rd of May, preparations for the final assault had been completed. The storming column consisted of four thousand men under General Baird selected from among the various European and native regiments. Included among these were the two flank companies of the Regiment de Meuron, the Granadiers being led by Captain Lardy with Lieutenants de Montmollin and Wolff, and the Chasseurs by de Meuron-Bayard (*vice* Piauchaud wounded) and by Matthey. The remaining eight companies stood in reserve under Colonel Wellesley. In the van of the stormers went a detachment of pioneers with hatchets and ladders under the orders of Lieutenant Charles de Meuron-Tribolet, Colonel Sherbrooke who commanded the right attack, having requested the services of a Swiss officer, knowing English, as their leader.

Shortly before one o'clock on the 4th of May, the forlorn hope of fourteen men advanced under Sergeant Graham and de Meuron-Tribolet. The distance to the breach was only six hundred yards, but that short space included both the river and the ditch. In about six minutes these obstacles had been surmounted, and the British flag was planted on the walls by Graham who, the next moment, fell a victim to the fire of the enemy. De Meuron-Tribolet behind him waved his hat in the air excitedly: an action which attracted the attention of Colonel Wellesley who, recognising the head-dress, asked of the officer nearest to him—"de Meuron d'Orbe, who of your regiment is that upon the breach?" Ere long the breach had been sufficiently enlarged by the pioneers to admit twelve men abreast, and General Baird at once gave the signal for the advance. The storming party rushed forward under a wild fire of musketry, hand-grenades, and heavy ordnance, which rendered the crossing of the rocky bed of the river a task of no little peril. Their guide, the gallant Lalor, fell wounded about midway and was drowned in the passage. Once, however, the opposite side had been gained, cover was found under the fort wall and scaling-ladders were quickly planted at a spot which Baird had previously indicated to de Meuron-Tribolet. The remainder of the column scrambled up pell-mell, Lieutenant Alphonse Matthey receiving a tremendous blow on the head while mounting and falling with great force upon de Meuron-Tribolet.

Matthey succumbed to his wound two days later, being the only officer of the attacking army actually killed upon the breach.¹⁹

On reaching the summit, the two companies diverged right and left as previously arranged. Their cartridge-boxes had been soaked during the crossing, but a charge with the bayonet scattered the Mysoreans, before these latter were able to reload, and the force under de Meuron Bayard soon gained ground to the east, in spite of a murderous fire from the houses. The enemy's guns were spiked as soon as captured and the Union Jack planted upon every outwork gained, in one of which a store of ammunition was opportunely discovered by the attacking body. A terrific fusillade from the direction of the North Gate followed, and the Swiss soldiers, running to the assistance of their comrades, found themselves suddenly in the Palace Square which was being held by the 74th Regiment who had succeeded in capturing some of Tippoo's Frenchmen. Within the Palace all was terror and confusion until Major Allan obtained an entrance wrapped in a white flag and learnt from the panic-stricken young princes that Tippoo was no longer with them. He had in fact left the Palace with his guard as soon as the assault began, and hurrying to the ramparts had shot several of the storming party with his own hand. Seeing then that the English were carrying all before them, he made his way to the north of the fortress with the intention of rallying a part of the garrison and retreating with it to his camp outside the town. So great, however, was the crush of fugitives at the river-bridge that further progress became impossible, and the Sultan himself, who had been twice wounded, was nearly carried off his feet. He still endeavoured to press on, when his horse was shot under him, and almost immediately afterwards he received a third wound, severe though not fatal. His attendants, among whom were a number of his women, placed him in a palanquin. He left it and crawled to a gateway leading to a garden. At that moment, sweating with heat and mad with excitement, a body of English troops appeared upon the scene. A British sergeant rushed forward to lay hands on Tippoo who made a cut at him with all his remaining strength, inflicting a deep gash above the knee. The next moment the Tiger of Mysore lay dead with a bullet in the head, another in the

¹⁹ He was the son of a receveur at Cornaux in Switzerland. His brother Frederick who died a lieutenant-colonel at Yverdon in 1850 commanded the Red River expedition in 1816. He published a treatise on the employ of the carbine and a memoir with maps on the draining of the marsh at Zeeland.

chest, and bayonet wounds in four places in his body.²⁰ His handful of retainers fought over him with the energy of despair and covered his remains with their corpses, several women being shot promiscuously with his guards. The body, as is well known, was not found till after nightfall, when it was placed in a litter and carried off by torchlight to be identified by his two sons at the palace. Meanwhile Tippoo's flag had been hauled down and the British colours hoisted in their stead, saluted with twenty-one guns from the batteries and with three cheers from the assembled victors.

House-to-house fighting still continued after the occupation of the palace, the Frenchmen in Tippoo's service more than once rallying the Mysoreans in the streets. By four o'clock, however, all serious resistance was at an end; and, as soon as calm had been partially restored, orders were issued by beat of drum granting the troops permission to pillage until noon precisely on the morrow. De Meuron-Bayard, who was on guard at the bastion near the Mysore Gate, divided his company into three portions, one of which went out to plunder while the others remained on duty. He records, as a noteworthy circumstance, that during storm and sack alike, the utmost humanity was displayed by all ranks. "*Les femmes furent principalement respectées et protégées ainsi que le reste des habitants qui n'avaient pas les armes à la main.*" Two soldiers, he adds, who were discovered plundering half-an-hour after the expiration of the time limit were at once hanged without ceremony.

The conquerors, indeed, had other duties to perform. Of these the most pressing was the removal of the corpses and wreckage which encumbered the city's streets, and the interment of the British officers killed, including Matthey, who were buried upon the breach. Quiet was now so far restored that most of the townspeople re-opened their shops. At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 5th of May came the burial of Tippoo himself who was interred with military honours beside his

²⁰ A Private in the Regiment de Meuron named Christenau, a native of Offenbergl and known as the "Brunswicker," who was afterwards Master of the Garrison Band at Fort St. George (where he buried his wife in 1823) is said to have been the soldier who killed Tippoo. But Lord Valentia, in 1804, after describing his visit to Seringapatam where he dined with Colonel de Meuron and his officers, wrote: "It is still unknown who gave the fatal wound to the Sultaun. The invaluable string of pearls which he wore round his neck was the prize of the soldier, but it has never been traced. He had been many years collecting this, always taking off an inferior pearl where he could purchase one of more value."

father and mother in the Royal mausoleum of Lal Bagh, two miles outside the city.

Hardly had this ceremony concluded and the troops returned to quarters, than a most tremendous storm of thunder, lightning and rain burst upon the town and continued for several hours. So violent was the lightning that numbers of lives were lost in the camp and out-posts. Lieutenants Barclay and Grant, of the 77th Regiment, were killed, and all the servants, horses, and even dogs of Lieutenant Bellasis stuck dead and himself much injured. Forcibly as the value of the capture was felt on the day of its accomplishment, the army had now more reason to congratulate itself as the torrents which fell this evening completely filled the batteries and trenches with water, and rendered the river impassable for some days afterwards. On the 7th of May, the British headquarters were transferred to the Darya Daulat, Tippoo's favourite summer residence, and the grounds at Lal Bagh were turned into a hospital. The privations and fatigues endured in the trenches had, unhappily been succeeded by excesses which more than doubled the mortality of the great army. Soon it was thought wise to remove the bulk of the troops outside the city. The Chasseurs at the Mysore Gate were relieved by the 33rd Regiment, and, together with the rest of the Regiment de Meuron and the whole of the Second Brigade, were despatched to the outlying cantonment of French Rocks, some fifteen miles away. The change in one sense proved disastrous. Ere many days, the camp was visited by another violent storm which deluged the tents, destroyed a large quantity of booty, and inflicted vast damage, especially in the lines of the 74th Foot. During its progress, de Meuron-Bayard's orderly, Plessang, was, we are told, drowned.

This accident added another item to the list of casualties of the Regiment de Meuron. Between the 10th of April and the 4th of May, it had lost forty killed and thirty-five men wounded. The deaths included one assistant-surgeon, one lieutenant, three sergeants, five corporals, two drummers and twenty-five rank and file; one man had been drowned, and two had been reported missing. The Seringapatam medal was not the only reward of the survivors. Lieutenant de Pury records that he received 9,540 pounds French as his first instalment of prize-money, and on the eighth of October writes that for the second he expects as much again. "*La troisième*," he concludes, "*viendra quand elle pourra*." Matthéy's portion of one thousand and eighty pagodas was, in addition, owing to his death, divided among his comrades.

Fate had something further in store for the Regiment.

One at least of its heroes was immortalized in Robert Ker Porter's great historical picture of the assault of Seringapatam which was exhibited for several years at the London Lyceum. At the left extremity of some 2,550 square feet of canvas was depicted "Captain Lardy of the Regiment de Meuron (sic), being assisted by one of the artillery men in binding up his wounded left arm in order that he might rejoin the storming party." It is certainly remarkable that of the three officers wounded at the breach, two, namely Lardy and Matthey, should have been Swiss. The third was Colonel Dunlop, of the 77th Foot. All the other casualties among officers, ten killed and eleven wounded, were sustained either during the passage of the river or in the subsequent street fighting.

In the middle of June, the regiment returned from French Rocks to Seringapatam and was present both at the installation of the new Rajah of Mysore, a boy of six, under the Dewanship of Purneah, and at the departure of Tippoo's four elder sons for Vellore, the nine younger children being left at Seringapatam in charge of Colonel Wellesley. In November 1799 it was again moved, this time to Arnee, where its Colonel, Pierre Frédéric de Meuron, has been commanding the station during the whole of the Mysore campaign; and in August 1800 it was under orders for Vellore. Here it arrived with a total strength of no more than 536 men, a detachment of 216 having been despatched under Captain Bernard to take part in Colonel Wellesley's pursuit of Dhoondiah Wagh, who in the following September was finally run to earth and killed at Oonagull. Less than a year later, the Regiment de Meuron was once more in Madras.

On the 24th of February 1801 it was reviewed on the north glacis by General Lake and passed as very fit to be presented either to friend or foe. "The same evening" (record the papers of the time) "Major-General de Meuron gave a ball and supper at the Pantheon at which Lord and Lady Clive and General Lake were present." Its quarters were then in Fort St. George; and the colonel obtained permission to use the fort church for divine service. The well-known Gericke, whose monument by Flaxman now adorns the walls of St. Mary's, was at the time regimental chaplain. It was doubtless he who officiated at the funeral of Isaac de Meuron de Rochat, captain and paymaster, whose grave in the island cemetery bears the date, 22nd of May 1800. The next year two privates suffered the extreme penalty of the law, being convicted of murder at different sessions, the first by the Recorder, and the second by the newly-constituted Supreme Court. The records of

their trials are unfortunately no longer traceable among the Registrar's records.²¹

The muster roll of the regiment on the 1st of August 1801, shows 431 officers and men at Fort St. George, 227 in the field against the Poligars, 14 at Arnee, 57 at Vellore, and 20 in Bengal, these last probably comprising the small party afterwards sent to Egypt under Sergeant Portinger. Adding fifty-one recruits, who had arrived by the ship of the 26th of July, the effective strength of the regiment would thus appear to have amounted to 798. The two companies at this time on active service were engaged with Colonel Agnew in a campaign against the Poligars of Madura and Tinnevely; with them, we read, were Captains Bernard and Zweifel, Lieutenants Wolff,²² Baron Muller, Gaechter, E. de May, Peter, Surgeon Franke, and the Chaplain Jean du Pasquier. Active employment was also found for four companies under Major Lardy who served with Colonel Montresor in his successful attack on the "Barriers of the Bullum Rajah" at Arakerry; which is, in spite of its distinctly Hibernian sound, on the borders of Mysore and Canara.

From a regimental point of view, a more important incident was the departure from India of Colonel Pierre Frédéric de Meuron, who, on the 18th of March, 1801, embarked for Europe on board the *Eden Castle*, and reached London in November. With the exception of a short visit to Switzerland, he remained in London until the arrival in England of his regiment in 1807. In that year he retired and settled at Neuchâtel until his death on the 12th of December 1812.

Several other officers, it may be noted, left India with their colonel. Among these was A. de Dardel who, six years later, was despatched on a recruiting mission to Sweden: a mission which can hardly have been attended with success, since only one Swede is known to have served in the regiment. The seven Danes, moreover, who figure in the muster-roll, were probably enlisted at the time of the occupation of Tranquebar in 1801. In that year, two companies of the regiment under Captain Bernad with a small body of English troops under Colonel Campbell were despatched to the little settlement, which promptly capitulated without a blow. The Swiss garrisoned the Danneborg for six weeks, and then returned to their regiment.

²¹ Their names are J. D. Grenier, tried in January 1801, and F. Koenig, tried in August 1801. General Lake landed in Madras on the 29th January 1801, on his way to Bengal to take over the chief command from Sir Alured Clarke. On the 11th February he reviewed the Body-guard, on the 19th the 1st Battalion of Artillery, and on another date the 2nd Battalion. On the morning of Tuesday, the 3rd March, he embarked for Calcutta.

²² Elias F. Wolff died in September 1801 at Shuleveram "with Lieutenant-Colonel Innes' detachment in camp."

Soon after de Meuron's departure, the regiment, commanded by de Meuron-Bullot, was again moved to Seringapatam. Leaving Madras on the 20th of September, it took no less than forty days to reach the Mysore capital. Three of the fifty recruits died upon the road, and the rains were so great that frequent halts were necessary: for the most part at places like Pullicondah, Santgur, or Ouscotta,—names long since forgotten in days when railways have replaced route marches.

For four years longer, the Regiment de Meuron continued to garrison the little island by the Cauvery. On the 29th of April 1803, it had the misfortune to lose its Colonel, J. P. de Meuron Bullot, who, with his eldest daughter, "a young lady of great worth and beauty," and Lieutenant Holborn of the 34th Regiment, was drowned in the surf at Madras by the upsetting of the accommodation-boat in which he was proceeding to join the *Union* on his way to Europe.

In the Seringapatam cemetery repose several of the officers of the regiment: John Reynolds, paymaster, Captain Mayer François Piachaud, Charles Bugnon, and Colonel Henri David de Meuron, who, like de Meuron-Bullot, met his death by drowning on the 23rd of September 1804. He had commanded the regiment throughout the Mysore campaign, and, in 1802, acted as Military Governor of Pondicherry. His widow, Mary, died at San Thomé on the 17th of August 1805, and is buried in St. Mary's cemetery, Madras.

Another officer, de Pury, was shot dead in a duel by Alexandre Lequin, whose subsequent history is recorded in one sentence: "Le 3 janvier, le capitaine Lequin a comparu devant la cour martiale pour avoir tué en duel le Lieutenant Pury, le 31 mars, 1801. Lequin, condamné, a été dégradé devant le régiment et a été chassé du service." The sentence exhibits a curious contrast with the regiment's early history at the Cape, when duels appear to have been too common of occurrence to have attracted the notice of the authorities.

Lord Valentia, who made the grand tour of India in 1804, halted at Seringapatam from the 29th of February to the 4th of March. "I dined," he writes, "with Colonel de Meuron, who had invited all his officers to meet me. He resides in a part of the palace of Hyder. The state room was painted green, which seems to have been a favourite colour of that chief, with much gilding. It joins on one side to the harem and opens into the public." All these buildings had been turned to official purposes. The other part of Hyder's Palace was the residence of the surgeon and the seraglio an European hospital. Tippoo's zenana served as a barrack for the artillery; his private apartments were occupied by the Resident and his public by the European troops.

During the last year's of its service in India, the numbers of the regiment, from one cause or another, fell considerably. At its first review at Seringapatam, it mustered 707 men; on the 1st of August 1805 it was reduced to 618, of whom fifty, by special permission of the Commander-in-Chief, were afterwards drafted into the Honourable Company's Artillery.

The corps left Seringapatam for the last time on the 20th of September, 1805, and after leaving a strong detachment at Tripassore, reached Fort St. George in thirty-five days. The journey was marked by a dispute among the officers, as a result of which Colonel Lardy, who had now succeeded to the command, was compelled to report E. de May and de Meuron-Renaud for having insulted Captain de La Harpe. No proceedings were, however, taken, since de Meuron-Renaud had already been under arrest eleven months for another offence and, it was anticipated, would be still further punished. De La Harpe, it may be noted, in company with Senn, took an early opportunity of obtaining a transfer to the third Ceylon Regiment: a course in which he was joined by a number of men whose engagement in the Regiment de Meuron had expired.²³

In January, 1806, the regiment received orders for home, the Tripassore detachment having rejoined its comrades in Madras. As many as thirty-eight sergeants and two hundred and fifty men were drafted into other regiments, no less than one hundred and thirty-three joining the first and second battalions of Artillery.²⁴ The corps itself was consequently reduced to thirty-five officers, sixteen sergeants and one hundred and sixteen men at the date of its departure. Nineteen "enfants de troupe" were left behind in India, twelve being placed in the Male Orphan Asylum, while the remaining seven were provided with three months' subsistence allowance in the hope of their eventually obtaining vacancies.

On the 11th of October the bulk of the regiment was embarked on the *Admiral Gardner*, seventy men under the

²³ De La Harpe's descendants are still in Ceylon. Mr. J. Piachaud, a planter at Kadiyananda, is the greatgrandson of Major Piachaud, of Nyon, who died at Seringapatam, 27th December 1802, aged 40.

²⁴ This called forth the following remark from the Court of Directors in their General letter dated the 6th of April 1809. "In consideration of the long and faithful services of the Regiment de Meuron under the British Government in India and of the deficient state of Artillery Corps we do not object to the transfer of a part of that regiment to the corps alluded to, notwithstanding our disinclination on general principle to any large proportion of foreigners being admitted into that corps."

orders of Captain de Rham²⁵ setting out on board the *Metcalf*. The journey proved long and tedious, a half of fifteen days being made at Colombo and another of ten days at St. Helena, and it was not until the 18th of July, that the ships came to anchor at Greenwich.

On arrival, the corps, after a stay of six weeks in the Isle of Wight, was despatched to its depôt at Lymington for the purpose of completing its strength. Its next destination was Guernsey, where Captain de Meuron d'Orbe's daughter, Louise, was married to a painter named Long, a native of the island; her brother, it may be noted, entered the Hanoverian Legion and fought at Waterloo.

In May, 1807, the regiment was once more at Gosport. That England was not altogether to its liking seems to be evidenced by the fact that a number of officers seized this opportunity to resign their commissions or to exchange into other regiments. Captains Baer and Donzel were pensioned off; Baron Muller-de Friedberg obtained a captaincy in the Regiment de Froberg; F. Treuller passed into the Chasseurs Britanniques and Florian Sprecher unto the Hanoverian Legion; while Louis Pillichody, who had left a brother in India in the English dragoons, secured a commission in the Regiment de Watteville, and Louis Xavier de Lentzbourg one in the Royal Regiment of Malta.

The next destination of the corps was Gibraltar, where it received a welcome addition to its ranks in a number of Piedmontese and Germans who had deserted from Napoleon's armies. From thence it was despatched to Messina, where, on the 20th of April 1808, it was incorporated into the English army of occupation under Colonel Lardy. After the repulse of the English fleet in the Bay of Naples, two years later, and Sir Hudson Lowe's ignominious surrender of the Isle of Capri, Murat's ill-starred attempt to descend on Sicily seemed about to afford a fresh opportunity of distinction to the regiment. As things turned out, however, no fighting of consequence was destined to occur. Barely two regiments

²⁵ De Rham was adjutant of the regiment in England, Sicily and Malta, and A.-D.-C. to Generals Hope, Gibbs, and Gore. He was attached to the German Legion under Major-General Hudson Lowe and retained on the staff of the Duke of Cambridge till that corps was disbanded, when he returned to his own regiment. He was A.-D.-C. to Baird in the expedition to Copenhagen. He knew nearly all the tongues of Europe and India, and was specially charged with recruiting and instructions. For 1½ years he was language master at High Wycombe Military College, and was "in at the death" of the regiment in 1816.

had landed at Spoleto when a storm arose which effectually scattered the transports, and the detachments already disembarked fell an easy prey to the companies of de Meuron and de Watteville.

More important, perhaps, was another change which now took place in the colonelcy of the corps. Pierre Lardy, who had commanded the regiment since the death of de Meuron-Bulot in 1803, sold his commission to a Major Wyndham, and the command reverted to the next senior officer, Zweifel, who, curiously enough, had in 1804 married the widow of de Meuron-Bulot.

In 1812, we hear of the regiment at Malta. Here on the 25th of March, new uniforms would seem to have been served out, making the third change which had been effected in the regiment's attire since its entry into British service. The scarlet coat with blue facing and leathern helmet with a bear skin crest had already given way to a coatee, round hat, and gaiters; and these in their turn were replaced by a jacket, trousers, and a shako. The Grenadier company was distinguished by a red plume, the Chasseurs by a green, the Fusiliers by a white; while the officers in full dress were resplendent with a blue silk sash with orange fringe. "*Cet ensemble de tons,*" as we may well believe, "*étoit des plus harmonieux et d'une éclatante gaité.*" Pouches and scabbards were in addition ornamented with a plaque bearing the letters G. R., surmounted by a royal crown and the inscription "*De Meuron's Swiss Regiment*"; a device which also figured on the shakos when the corps came to adopt that form of head-dress. So far, however, as "*éclatante gaité*" might be concerned, the regimental surgeons easily outshone their comrades. During the first period of British service, the surgeon-major seems to have been clothed in a gray coat profusely trimmed with gold lace, a scarlet waist-coat as lavishly bedecked, and scarlet breeches. In view of the exceptional attraction of so gorgeous an attire, it is certainly remarkable that the name of not a single Swiss is to be discovered among the medical staff.²⁶ Out of the twenty-four medical officers who accepted service with the regiment, eight were Germans, eight Frenchmen, five English, and three Dutch. The uniform worn by the corps in the Madras Presidency in 1805 stands out in curious contrast to

²⁶ This was not the case in earlier years. In 1796 Charles Philippe Caudmont was Surgeon-Major with three Aides, Ch. F. Reine, Paul Glessner, (or Lesser) and Alois Plettner. Later on occur the names of W. Wybrow, John Franke, A. Ludwig Winter and John Smaasen, who buried a wife Jeromana at Arnee in December 1799.

the splendour of these surgeons. Here the waistcoat and trousers were of a dull drab colour—a presentiment of the modern khaki—while the facings were of Saxon blue and the trimmings of silver.

During the stay of the regiment at Malta, one of its officers at least was busied with more serious matters than a change of uniform. The difficulties of an officer on leave of absence to his native Switzerland are exemplified by the experiences of Lieutenant Emanuel de May of Berne, a soldier who had seen service in Flanders under d'Erlach before joining de Meuron's ranks in 1796. On the 7th of December 1811, he left Malta on six months' leave. Barely two days had elapsed when the vessel was wrecked upon the African coasts and its passengers plundered and imprisoned by the Barbary natives. Released two days before Christmas, de May proceeded to Tunis, where on the 5th of January he embarked for Naples. On arrival there, he was placed in quarantine until the 8th of February, when, such were the combined effects of his shipwreck and his lodging under a crazy Neapolitan roof which allowed the rain to drip through upon his bed, that he fell sick of a fever and was unable to leave his room until the 2nd of March, by which date three months of his leave had practically expired. Finally he reached Berne in safety on the 12th of April, where he was busily employed in arranging the affairs of his brother Rodolphe who like himself held a commission in the Regiment de Meuron. Suddenly on the 22nd of April, a secret warning reached him that he was on the point of being arrested at the instance of the French ambassador. Accompanied by a young ensign Auguste de Lorient, who had just joined the regiment, he effected an escape into Germany and took the mail to Schaffhausen. From thence he travelled to Ulm and down the Danube until he reached Vienna where he was delayed ten days by the necessity of procuring passports for the remainder of the journey. On the 29th of May, he was at Brood upon the Turkish frontier. Five days elapsed before the departure of the caravan and nine more went in reaching Serajevo. Here fresh difficulties again detained him for four days, and it was not until the 2nd of July after a most troublesome journey that he finally arrived at Salonika where Mr. Scharnaud, the British Consul, succeeded in obtaining for him a passage to his destination, on the 22nd of July. Three weeks later, he was able once more able to rejoin his regiment at Malta, having overstayed his leave by upwards of two months.

Meanwhile the authorities were discovering a new sphere of action for the regiment. The term for which the corps had been engaged had already been renewed in 1809 for a

further period of seven years, with the added stipulation that no Italians, Englishmen or Frenchmen should be henceforth recruited; and at the beginning of 1813 orders were received for its immediate embarkation for America.

In a general order, dated the 4th of May, 1813—the anniversary of the storming of Seringapatam—General Oakes, commanding the troops at Malta, testified in eloquent terms to his appreciation of the good conduct and discipline of the Regiment de Meuron, and on the following day the troops were once again afloat, on board the *Regulus*, *Melpomene* and *Dover*.

At the end of August, the regiment, now twelve hundred strong, landed in Canada. The English were then engaged in hostilities with the Americans both on the Great Lakes and along the frontiers, the British force being divided into two army corps under the command of Sir George Prevost, a Genevese by origin²⁷, and, as events soon proved, a weak and incompetent leader. The first column of twenty-five thousand men in three brigades had been despatched under Sir Gordon Drummond to operate on Lake Ontario with Washington as its objective. At the beginning, the division met with fair success, for on the 24th of October, it occupied Washington, whence, however, after setting fire to the Capital and most of the public buildings, it was compelled eventually to retire. The Regiment de Watteville, which was unlucky enough to take part in this expedition, suffered severe losses both here and at the repulse before New Orleans.

The Regiment de Meuron was more fortunate in being selected to join the army of Upper Canada, comprising some thirty-six thousand men under the command of General Brisbane, where it was brigaded with the Canadian Voltigeurs. The only important operation in which it shared was the attack on Plattsburg. Lieutenant Charles de Goumoens, who died at Lausanne as recently as 1882, has left an interesting narrative of this, the last, passage of arms in which his regiment was destined to play a part. The Swiss corps was stationed on the left wing of the army, and was the last to pass the line of blockhouses on the American frontier. The city of Plattsburg was divided into two by a deep river, but the Regiment de Meuron succeeded in occupying the lower half of the town, and had it not been for the want of energy displayed by General Prevost in failing to order an immediate attack upon the citadel, would have rendered itself speedily master of the whole. Its colonel, so soon as he had established

²⁷ Prevost (1767-1816) was the eldest son of Major-General Augustine Prevost, who served under Wolfe, by his wife Anne, daughter of Chevalier George Grand of Amsterdam.

his position in the town, sent off an orderly to General Prevost, but was met with the injunction to continue to maintain himself as best he could. The regiment had lost sixteen men in the attack, and for six days longer remained in the town, exposed to a heavy fire, day and night. On the 12th of September, the English fleet advanced to attack the American defending squadron, but was exposed to such a terrific cannonade from the fort that the first shot fired killed the British Admiral and so disabled his flagship that she was driven to surrender. This disaster took place under the very eyes of the regiment, which was awaiting orders to attack the citadel, and would almost certainly have overpowered the defenders, had General Prevost only been willing to combine a land attack with the naval demonstration. As matters stood, the fleet was no sooner disabled than the batteries of the citadel concentrated their fire upon that portion of the town which was in possession of the British troops. Ere long a church which protected their position had been blown away, and the forces were compelled to evacuate the city, the Regiment de Meuron covering the retreat of the artillery and being the last to cross the bridge, which was held until the last moment by a detachment of Chasseurs under Captain Frédéric Matthey, a brother of the subaltern, who had distinguished himself in the assault at Seringapatam.

The next time we hear of the regiment, it was at Burtonville, where, on the 12th of May 1815, General Campbell reported it as being in a high state of efficiency. At the review held on that date, its strength was returned as follows: one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, ten captains, eighteen lieutenants, six ensigns, an adjutant, a paymaster, a quartermaster, a surgeon,²⁸ an assistant-surgeon, sixty-four sergeants, thirty corporals, twenty-one drummers, and eight hundred and fifty-two men: making in all a total of one thousand and eleven. The officers at this time were composed of twenty-eight Swiss, five Germans, and eleven Englishmen. No less than fourteen of the Swiss Officers were natives of Neuchâtel, but only two were of the de Meuron family, namely, de Meuron Bayard and Lieutenant Jules César de Meuron, a son of de Meuron d'Yvernois. The oldest officers were Captain Bourgeois (forty years of age and eleven of service), Lieutenant-Colonel de Meuron-Bayard (forty years of age and nineteen of service), and Captain Fuchs²⁹ (thirty-six years of

²⁸ While the regiment was in Canada, Surgeon-Major Weber died at La Prairie, leaving a widow and five children. The lady married E. de May and returned later to Switzerland, where one of the sons, George Weber, practised for a long time as a doctor at Fleurier.

²⁹ Fuchs who was in the Regiment de Roll exchanged commission in 1819 with Antoine Courant.

age and twenty years of service); the youngest officers were Lieutenant de Meuron (nineteen years of age with two of service) and Auguste de Lorient who must have joined the regiment at thirteen, since, with two years of service to his credit, he is entered as no more than fifteen years of age. The regiment included two Englishmen, 313 Swiss, 256 Germans, 120 Italians, 23 Spaniards, 3 Portuguese, 7 Russians, 6 Poles, and 7 men of diverse countries; of these 203 were of the age of twenty, 264 were twenty-five, nearly four hundred were of the age of thirty, four were fifty and two were fifty-five. Ninety-two wives accompanied the regiment, together with twenty-four boys over the age of ten, two under ten, and sixteen girls.

Meanwhile the career of the corps itself was rapidly drawing to a close. Desertion was once more rife among the men, recurring with lamentable frequency in the officers' reports, and with the repulse before New Orleans, peace preliminaries indicated that the services of the regiment would no longer be required. On the 11th of March 1816, the final notification came to de Meuron-Bayard that the British Government had resolved on the disbandment of the regiment.

The 24th of June was the day fixed for the departure of such of the men as desired to remain in the colony. These numbered 343, being 23 sergeants, 13 drummers, and 307 privates. With them went 79 women and thirty children. Ten of the officers at the same time accepted half-pay in conjunction with a liberal grant of land: Matthey, d'Orsonnens, de Graffenried, Fauche, Bourgeois, Wittmer, Robins, Léonard, Napier, and Schultz. Many of the non-commissioned officers joined the Canadian militia as instructors; the *Montreal Gazette* of the 28th of November, 1815, alludes warmly to the efforts of the colonel in inducing his men to take up such employ and concludes with the cry of "Vive le Régiment de Meuron!"

In an order of the day, dated the 26th of July 1816, General Sir John Sherbrooke³⁰, who had fought with the regiment at Seringapatam, showed his appreciation of the services of the corps by a flattering farewell, and a few days later the remnant of the regiment, now reduced to 27 officers, 37 sergeants, 22 corporals, 7 drummers, and 232 men, embarked from Quebec in the *Elisa*.

Thirty-eight days later, the regiment was once again in England. On the 24th of September, Lord Palmerston, who

³⁰ Sherbrooke (1764-1830) was, says Wellington, "the most passionate man I ever knew." The episode known as the Wynyard Ghost occurred while Sherbrooke was quartered at Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, in 1784-5.

was then Secretary of State for War, communicated to the colonel commanding the final orders for disbandment, and the troops were transported to the depôt at Lymington, whence they took ship for their respective homes.

On the 4th of November 1816, the War Office acknowledged the receipt of forty-nine volumes of the regimental papers. The flags of the regiment passed into the possession of de Meuron-Bayard, who, on his death in May 1859 at Heusdon in Holland at the age of eighty-eight, bequeathed them to Théodore de Meuron.

The Regiment de Meuron had now ceased to exist, but its traditions continued to animate the settlers, whom it had left behind in Canada. May, d'Orsonnens and Fauche, indeed, had not long taken up their lands, before they were conducting an expedition of Swiss soldiers on the Red River where the Indians had recently massacred the Scotch settlers of Lord Selkirk's colony. Joined on the way by a small detachment of the Regiment de Watteville, they completely cleared the country of the Indian marauders in twenty months. Captain Matthey, in writing home to his old Colonel, de Meuron-Bayard, draws a lively picture of the privations which were undergone by the expedition, and describes, among other incidents, how he accidentally encountered 1,100 leagues from the mouth of Mississippi Sapper Dalcour, a former deserter from the regiment.

In June 1817 the three officers, May, d'Orsonnens, and Fauche, were once again in London. The Regiment de Meuron, was, it is true, no longer in existence, but not on that account as yet forgotten. To such a height, indeed, did misrepresentation as to its past conduct obtain a hearing in the House of Commons, that, acting on the advice of Colonel F. G. de Bosset³¹, an old member of the regiment, the three officers addressed a collective protest to the Commons from their address at 4, Queen Square, Westminster, drawing attention to the high appreciation of the services of the corps which had been placed on record by Sir John Sherbrooke while in Canada.

With this characteristic termination to its history, the career of the Regiment de Meuron was now ended. Of the thirty-five years of its existence, fourteen had been passed in the service of the Dutch Company and twenty-one in that of England. During the first period, 2,277 men had passed through the ranks; during the second and longer period

³¹ His brother G. F. de Bosset was present in 1709 at the battle of Zurich, where he had been sent by Mr. Wickham, the English envoy. He was promoted from the Regiment de Meuron into the King's German Legion.

no more than 2,014. A conception of the cosmopolitan nature of the regiment may be derived from a study of the muster-rolls of this period of British service. Among the nationalities represented were 630 Swiss, 502 Germans, 192 French, Alsatians, 123 Italians, 293 Dutch, 29 Spaniards, 16 Hungarians, 3 Portuguese, 4 Poles, 3 Russians, 7 Danes, 4 Englishmen, and 1 Swede; 2 members were from Guadeloupe, two from San Domingo, ten from Ceylon, three from Pondicherry, two from the Cape of Good Hope, and three from Canada. Two Boers and a score of Eurasians seem, in addition, to have taken service with the regiment. The average age of the men was thirty-three, while one man of sixty-two and four of sixty appear upon the lists.

The officers numbered in all two hundred and seven. Of these no fewer than eighteen were of the family de Meuron. Two of them, Gustave and Auguste, who were with the Prussian army learning their duties, remained in that service after the outbreak of war with France and fought at Jena. Two others died before being graded and one young cadet had to be sent back to Europe as not possessing "*les qualités suffisantes pour être officier.*" The contribution of the family to the British army within the short space of twenty-one years included two major-generals, two colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, nine captains, and two lieutenants.

Of the remaining officers, outside those of Swiss extraction, twenty-three were French, twenty-one German, and thirty-one English. Of the Swiss officers themselves, forty-four, in addition to the de Meurons, were natives of Neuchâtel. In this connection it may here be noted that during the stay of the regiment in England, Lieutenant Vitel of Verrières while on six months' leave of absence was summarily arrested in passing through Paris, and on the 4th of May 1807, shot by order of the Emperor: after which event stringent orders were issued by Napoleon to prevent recruiting for British purposes in the principality of Neuchâtel.

Owing to the reluctance of the British War Office to yield up its official secrets, not a little of the history of the regiment must necessarily remain involved in some obscurity. The first attempt to solve the difficulties which stand in the way of the regiment's biographer dates from the publication in 1885 of a privately printed and almost unprocurable essay compiled from papers in the family's possession and edited with a fair show of historical inaccuracy and much confusion of material by Theodore de Meuron, "*l'arrière-petit-neveu du général de Meuron, Colonel Propriétaire du régiment.*" The only known copy of this work is the author's own, which, at his death, passed in to the library of Monsieur Albert de Montet,

of Cardoune, near Vevey, cidevant lieutenant in an Austrian Dragoon regiment, to whom I am indebted for the loan of the volume. A review of the essay by General Tyrrell appeared in the *Madras Mail* of the 29th of July 1896. The pamphlet itself and a few scattered articles in the "Musée Neuchâtelois" of about the same date, may almost be said to constitute the entire published authority for the history of the regiment. It is probable that a search among the regimental papers in the possession of the War Office would not only elucidate many mysteries in connection with the British service of the regiment but restore to more than one unremembered hero the meed of praise that is his due

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ART. III.—BIHÂRI LIFE IN BIHÂRI NURSERY- RHYMES.

GLIMPSES of the social life of a people, in the agricultural stage of existence, may be obtained from an examination of its familiar sayings, proverbs, riddles, nursery-rhymes, and other items of its folk-lore. For these unwritten fragments of its speech embody, within them, occasional allusions to the customs and practices, the social ceremonies and religious rites, the round of daily duties and pursuits, and the inner workings of the mind of the simple uncultured rustics who form the majority of the people we are dealing with. The extremely limited stock of knowledge of these unlettered folks is obtained only from the narrow sphere of their simple lives, and from all the work and play, the humour and pathos that go to make up the humdrum round of their existence. Their similes and metaphors are borrowed from their daily pursuits, and the homely articles and implements connected therewith, as also from the familiar objects which come within the ken of their daily observation. Nowhere is the truth of the foregoing remarks more strikingly illustrated than in the case of the agricultural people of Bihâr, whose folk-lore teems with references to their customs and practices, to their daily avocations, and the objects and implements used therein. It is by a systematic study of this folk-lore, that a faithful picture of their home-life may be depicted. If we examine the proverbs of the Bihâris, we find that those pithy sayings furnish us with a vivid idea of the agricultural condition of that people. Being an essentially agricultural people, the villagers of Bihâr live in thatched huts, which they call *मकड़ी*. So when they have occasion to speak of a thing which is quite useless or which is out of place, they say *चाकर का चूकर मकड़ी का जोसारा* which means : "A servant to a servant is like a portico to a hut," Paddy is one of their staple crops ; and rice is the staff of their lives. So when no distinction is made between merit and demerit, and the qualified and the unqualified are treated alike, these simple rustics say *सब चावल खाईये पसेरी* which means : "To him every kind of paddy is worth twenty-two *paseris* per rupee, i.e., is the same." The poorest classes of the Bihâri tenantry, mainly, live by partaking of a very cheap kind of millet called *जोरी* (*Paspalum frumentaceum*). Hence, the well-to-do turn up their nose at it. Formerly, the *gurus* or rural school-masters used to get from their pupils fees in the shape of presents of paddy and other cereals ; and the poorest students, naturally,

obtained their very elementary education by giving largesses of *kodo* grains. Hence, if the rustics of Bihâr want to taunt a man, whose education is not worth much, they say **कोदो देके पढ़ल है** which means: "Have you given *kodo* for your education?" Similarly, they have recourse to implements used in agricultural operations, for "pointing a moral or adorning a tale." When speaking of an act or speech which is inappropriate, they say **हँडवा के बिचार बुरा के बीत** which means: "The song is for the weeding-hook, though it is the sickle which is to be married." When referring to a man who, even in his best behaviour, is still mischievous, they quote the proverb **बड़ सीध त हँडवा बीयर** which signifies: "If he is very straight, he is still crooked like the sickle." Similarly, they often draw their similes from the homely implements of their household use. All Bihâri rustics use a winnowing-fan called **छर** for separating the grain from the chaff. Their women, also, grind, in handmills, wheat and chick-pea into flour and *sattu*, and sift the finer kind of flour from the coarser one called *atta*, with a sieve, which they call **चादनी**. In cooking, the Bihâri women-folk use a wooden ladle called **कोई**, for stirring the seething mass of food with, and for helping out the same to the partakers. Hence, when they have to speak of a highly incompetent man, who taunts another person somewhat less disqualified with incompetency, they say **चढ़नीं दुसहन छर के, निवरा चरवर बेद** which means: "The sieve, with a thousand holes, finds fault with the winnowing-fan," and of which the English version is "Pot calling kettle black." When they have to refer to a person, who possesses immense power for good or evil and, therefore, has everybody at his command, they quote the proverb: **जेकरा हाथ में कोई देकरा हाथ में सब कोई** which, rendered into English, signifies: "He, who holds the ladle, commands everybody."

Nursery-rhymes, child-songs and nonsense-verses are, also, important items of folk-lore and give us some insight, at least, into the social life, the manners and customs of the people among whom they are current. They are sung and recited to children by womenfolk all over the world either to amuse the former or to hush them to sleep. The following child-song, which is one of the oldest in the world and is current among the women of Japan, resembles the lullabies from other parts of the world, given elsewhere in this essay, in the fact of its commencing with words invoking sleep:—"Sleep, baby, sleep! Why are the honorable ears of the Child of the Hare of the honorable mountain so long? 'Tis because when he dwelt

within her honored womb, his mamma ate the leaves of the loquat, the leaves of the bamboo-grass. That is why his honorable ears are so long."

With reference to it, Mr. Lafcadio Hearn says :—"I could hear Oki mothers singing their babes to sleep with one of the oldest lullabies in the world. The air was singularly sweet and plaintive, quite different from that to which the same words are sung in Izumo, and in other parts of Japan."*

A study of these nursery-rhymes and nonsense-verses, also, discloses to us the strange fact that the ideas underlying them are almost the same all over the world. Take, for instance, the following nonsense-rhyme recited to children by Bengali mothers or maid-servants, the recital thereof being accompanied by the action of pointing to the different fingers of the child's hand :—

(Pointing to the child's littlefinger) एटा बले खाव खाव ।

(Pointing to his ring-finger) ... एटा बले कोथाय पाव ।

(Pointing to his middle finger) ... एटा बले धार करना ।

(Pointing to his index finger) ... एटा बले सुध्वो कोथाय ।

(Pointing to his thumb) ... एटा बले कब रुझा ।

TRANSLATION.

The little finger says :—"I am hungry (and want some food to eat.)"

The ring-finger says :—"Where am I to get food (for you to eat ?)"

The middle finger says :—"Borrow money (to buy food with.)"

The index finger says :—"How is the loan to be repaid ?"

The thumb says :—"Then there will be no food to eat."

The idea underlying the above nonsense-verse is, curiously enough, found in the undermentioned English nursery-rhyme :—

• This pig went to market,
This pig staid at home,
This pig had roast beef,
This pig had a bone,
And this one cried, "pee-wee."

It is, also, reproduced in the following song from Coorg, which, Mr. Gover, the author of the *Folk-songs of Southern India*, says, "has never before been heard beyond the confines of Coorg."

The little finger nail is small,
The finger for the ring is gold,

* Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. II, p. 609.

The middle finger loveth coins,
 The fourth is called Kotera,
 The thumb is Mûrutika,
 And both are gone for chçese.

Count the little fingers and those that bear the ring,
 Middle fingers, forefingers, and the thumbs are ten.

Both these latter two rhymes are accompanied by the same action as in the Bengali one given *supra*, namely, that of the mother or nurse in pulling each tiny finger or toe of the child, as she refers to it in the song.

Like their sisters all over the world, the womenfolk of Bihâr croon a large number of nursery-rhymes and doggerel verses for lulling their children into sleep, or for quieting the latter, when they are naughty or fidgety. Anyone, who may have occasion to pass through a village in Bihâr in the stilly hours of noon, or when the shades of evening are falling fast, may hear some Bihâri woman crooning these rhymes in plaintive notes. Like the proverbs of Bihâr, these nursery-rhymes and lullabies teem with allusions to, or descriptions of, the homely pursuits and the simple beliefs of the Bihâri agriculturists, and the appurtenances of a Bihâri rustic's household. Hence, if we carefully study these rude songs, we may be enabled to construct a faithful picture of the home-life of the simple villagers of Bihâr.

It is a noteworthy fact that the moon plays an important part in the nursery-rhymes of many races of people who are distantly separated from each other by wide expanses of ocean or large tracts of land. In Bengal, the children call the moon their "maternal uncle." In Japan, the Japanese women sing to their children the following Izumo child-song to the moon :—

"Nono-San,
 Little Lady Moon,
 How old are you ?
 'Thirteen days,—
 Thirteen and nine.'
 That is still young,
 And the reason must be
 For that bright red obi,
 So nicely tied,*
 And that nice white girdle
 About your hips.
 Will you give it to the horse ?
 'Oh, no, no !'

* Because an obi or girdle of very bright color can be worn only by children.

Will you give it to the cow ?

'Oh, no, no !'”*

Similarly, the Bihâri womenfolk sing to their children the following nursery-rhymes, which are addressed to the moon and in which that luminary is, also, styled as “maternal uncle” :—

(I)

चांद मामा चांद मामा खरहि दे ।

से खरहि काहेना ॥

खरत्रा काटान्नरेना ।

से खरत्रा काहेना ॥

घरत्रा छात्रयान्नरेना ।

से घरत्रा काहेना ॥

गबया टुकान्नरेना ।

से गबया काहेना ॥

गोबरा करान्नरेना ।

से गोबरा काहेना ॥

ब्याङ्गना लियान्नरेना ।

से ब्याङ्गना काहेना ॥

गंङ्गुया मुखान्नरेना ।

से गंङ्गुया काहेना ॥

पुरिया पाकान्नरेना ।

से पुरिया काहेना ॥

भौजी खिलान्नरेना ।

से भौजी काहेना ॥

नाज नाज बबुया वियान्नरेना ।

से बबुया काहेना ॥

गोली डाख्खा खिलेना ।

गोली डाख्खा टुट् गइल ॥

बबुया खप् गइल ॥

TRANSLATION.

O maternal uncle moon, O maternal uncle moon, give me a scythe.

Why is the scythe required ?

* *Kokoro : Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life.* By Lafcadio Hearn. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1896. p. 75.

It is required for cutting the thatching-grass with.
 Why is the thatching-grass required?
 It is required for thatching the hut with.
 What is the hut for?
 It is required for penning the cattle in.
 Why are the cattle required?
 They are required for producing dung.
 Why is the dung required?
 It is required for plastering the courtyard with.
 What is the courtyard for?
 It is for drying the wheat in.
 What is the wheat for?
 It is required (for being ground into flour) to be made
 up into fried pancakes.
 Why are the fried pancakes required?
 They are required for feeding the elder brother's wife with.
 What is the elder brother's wife for?
 She is for rearing beautiful boys.
 What are the boys for?
 They are for playing at tip-cat.
 (As) the cat and the tip got broken,
 The boys became angry.

A second nursery-rhyme, addressed to the moon as "maternal uncle" and crooned by the Bihari women, is as follows:—

(2)

चांद मामा, चांद मामा ।
 आरे आत्र, बारे आत्र, नदीया किनारे आत्र ॥
 सोनेके कटोरल में दुध भात लेले आत्र ।
 बसुआके मुंहमें घुटुक देना ॥

TRANSLATION.

O maternal uncle moon, O maternal uncle moon,
 Come here, come now and then, come to the bank of the
 river.

Come, taking (with you) rice and milk in a golden bowl,
 And pour (the same) at once into the mouth of the babe.

The version of the foregoing rhyme No. 2, which is current
 in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, is as follows:—

चंदा माई धाय जा, धुषाय जा, दूध भात के कटोरा भरैया के मुंह में
 दारि जा घुटुक दे ।

TRANSLATION.

O mother moon, come quickly with a bowl full of milk and
 oiled rice, and pour the same at once into the baby's mouth

The noteworthy feature of this version is that the moon is styled therein as "mother," instead of "maternal uncle" as in those from Bihâr and Bengal. This is owing to the popular belief current among the womenfolk of those provinces that the moon is a female and that the marks on her are the shadow of an old woman, who is sitting in her, spinning thread on a spinning-wheel.

This is similar to the Japanese belief in the existence, in the moon, of a hare, which keeps pounding away at rice in a mortar to make it into cakes, and also to the old Hindu myth about the presence of a rabbit, or a black antelope in that luminary.

The two foregoing nursery-rhymes shew that the Bihâri agriculturists use a scythe for cutting the thatching-grass with, which is grown on the boundaries of their fields, or on separate plots of land which are called *mujhauni*, and which grass is used for thatching their rude huts with. They live in simple cottages having walls of mud and roofs thatched with grass. They usually own a pair of plough-cattle, a cow or a buffalo, which they keep picketted in enclosures outside their huts. The dung, dropped by the cattle, is utilized by the women-folk and made into dung-cakes which are used as fuel. As the cow's dung is considered sacred by the Hindus of Bihâr, their women compound with it and a little of water, a liquid with which they plaster the mud walls of their huts, or their courtyard in order to cleanse the same from all impurities, both real and imaginary. They cultivate, during the cold weather, crops of wheat, some of which they keep for home consumption, and sell the balance to wholesale dealers in grain. The money, realized by the sale thereof, is paid by them to the landlord for rent. The wheat is ground into *atta*, which is made up into *chapatties* or griddle-cakes. The poorer classes of the Bihâri agriculturists partake of these griddle-cakes on the occasion of their high days and holidays, and content themselves with similar cakes, made of the flour of the maize, for their meals on ordinary days. It is only the well-to-do classes that can afford the luxury of regaling themselves with *puris* or fried pancakes, and of feeding their infants with rice and milk. The poorer classes feed their babies with a little boiled rice or a little rice-gruel. The Bihâri boys play at the game of *गुली बंद*, which is almost identical with the English game of tip-cat.

It is played with a block of wood, about six inches in length, which is called the "Cat" and which is struck with a small club or bat and knocked into the air. The rules for playing it are rather complicated; but, so far as they have

been compared, they have been found to be identical all over the globe. The geographical distribution of this game is very wide. It was played in Ancient Egypt, as is evidenced by Mr. Flinders Petrie's discovery of wooden "Tip-cats" among the ruins of Rahun in the Fayum in Egypt, which date from about 2500 B. C. It is played in Syria, under the name of *Hab*; in Persia, under the name of *Guk schub* or "Frog-wood"—a name derived, like the English one of "Cat," from the way in which the small stick leaps into the air. In China, the game is known as *Ta-pang* or "Knock the stick." The Chinese emigrants, in the United States, play it under the name of *To tse* or "Little Peach." In Japan, it is played under the designation of *In ten*, the small stick or "cat" being called *ko* or "son," and the long one or bat being called *oya* or "parent." In Bengal, it is played under the appellation of *Guli dāndā*. In Bihār, it has been played from the olden times, as is testified to by its mention in the "Song of Bijai Mal"—an ancient ballad sung in the district of Shāhābad. It is, also, played among the Hanjis or Mahomedan boatmen of Kashmir. Under the name of *ilāta*, it is a favorite game with the Todas of Southern India, who play it with a bat like a broom-stick, and a cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends. This piece of wood is propped up against a stone, and struck with the bat. As it flies up off the stone, it is hit to a distance with the bat, and caught (or missed) by the out-fields. It is, also, played amongst the Kotas of the Nilgiris. In Burma, it is called the *Kyiha*. In Russia, it is played under the designation of *Kosley* or "goat"—a name which is similar to the Persian appellation "Frog," and the English one "Cat," of this widely-diffused game. In the United States of America, it is played under the name of "Cat."

(3)

आत्ररे चिल्हो मामा खेत खलिहान् ।

देबहुं चिल्हरो आरत्रा धान् ॥

आरत्रा धानके चड़ात्रा कुटलन् ।

चूड़ात्रा कुटि कुटि बाह्मना जेयात्रलन् ॥

बाह्मनाके पुतात्रा देखे आश्लिष् ।

तोरा बबुया जिरौ लाख बरिष् ॥

हमार बबुया आउरि ।

हाड़ी धोत्रे रंधलन् भौड़ी ॥

आपने खेलन् थारियत्रामे ।

बबुयाके देलधन् कटोरामे ॥
 सेला बबुया खखल् जाय ।
 खखल् बबुया मामाघर जाय ॥
 मामाघर बबुया का का खाय ।
 सोरहि के दुध कोदोइके भात ॥
 बबुया कहे मुनो मामु बचन हमार ।
 हमराके देल मामु गुलौ टांड बानाय ॥
 सोनेके गुलिया रुपेके टांडवा देहो बानाके ॥
 एतने बचन जब मामा मुनलन् ।
 चल् देलन् के सोनार कन् ।
 मुनो सोनार मिला भाइया ॥
 हमरा भागिना गुलौ टांड मांगे ॥
 सोनेके गुलिया रुपेके टांडवा देहो बानाके ॥

TRANSLATION.

O maternal uncle kite, come to the field and the granary ;
 I shall give you *durâ* (i.e., unboiled) paddy.
 I made *churâ* (i.e., flattened) rice from the unboiled paddy,
 And fed a Brâhman with the same *churâ*.
 Let the Brâhman give his blessings.
 May the Brâhman's son live for one hundred thousand
 years.
 (But) may my son live longer.
 (The Brâhman named) Jhauri cooked (some food) in an
 earthen vessel, after washing the same,
 And partook of his meal out of a metal plate ;
 But served the meal to my son in a metal bowl.
 For this reason, my son became angry,
 And went to his maternal uncle's house.
 What did my son eat in his maternal uncle's house ?
 (He partook of) the Suravi cow's milk and rice of *kodo*
 grain.
 He said : " O maternal uncle, hear my words.
 " Give me a cat and a bat.
 " Have the cat made of gold, and the bat of silver."
 When his maternal uncle heard these words,
 He went to the goldsmith's shop,
 And said : " O friend goldsmith, hear me.
 " My sister's son wants a cat and a tip.
 " Prepare the cat of gold and the bat of silver, and let me
 have the same."

The Bihâri women's practice of feeding their infants with milk and rice is, also, alluded to in the following nursery-rhymes:—

(4)

काचर कुचर कौआ खाय ।

दुध भात बबुया खाय ॥

TRANSLATION.

The crow feeds upon dirty offal.
But the baby feeds upon milk and rice.

(5)

आमार मानारके पातान्नया ।

बबुया खाय दुध भातान्नया ॥

बिलईया चाटे पातान्नया ।

चाटते चाटते गेल पिकुयार ॥

कुकुरा घैलक भर आंकोयार ।

छोड़ छोड़ कुकुरा तोर आंकोयार ॥

अब ना आयब तोर पिकुयार ॥

TRANSLATION.

O leaves of the pomegranate tree,
My baby feeds upon milk and rice.
The cat licks the leaf-platter (out of which food has been eaten),
And, while licking his lips, went to the backyard.
The dog tackled the cat (there).
The cat cried out: "O dog, let go your hold of me.
"Henceforth I shall not come to the courtyard which is your domain."

But, in the following nursery-rhyme, the Bihâri baby is spoken of as being fed upon balls of *ghee* or clarified butter, which are, probably, nothing but balls of pastry fried in clarified butter:—

(6)

कांछि कुंछि कौआ खाय ।

घिन्न के गोन्दा बबुया खाय ॥

TRANSLATION.

The crow feeds upon scraps (of offal).
But my baby feeds upon balls fried in *ghee*.

The fact that the well-to-do Bihâris feed upon wheaten

pancakes fried in *ghee* or clarified butter, is described in the following nursery-rhyme :—

(7)

वाति ताति पुरिया ।

घिन्न में चभोरिया ॥

उठा घर कटोरिया ॥

TRANSLATION.

Very hot pancakes—

Fry the same in clarified butter,

And keep the same in a metal bowl.

This is similar to the English nursery-rhyme of—

“ Pat-a-cake, Pat-a-cake, baker’s man.

Bake me a cake as fast as you can.

Put it, and prick it, and bake it as fast as you can.”

I have, already, stated above that the Bihâri agriculturists of the poorer classes partake of *chapatties* or griddle-cakes. These are prepared by their womenfolk. First, the *atta* or *sattu* is kneaded into a dough. The dough is, then, made up into small balls, which are, then, flattened out into circular cakes either with the hand or with a wooden roller. Then the cakes are baked on an iron pan placed upon the fire; and, in order to bake them to a turn, the cakes are finally thrown upon the hot embers for a minute and, then, taken out. Afterwards, they are eaten. In order to impart some flavour to these *chapatties*, sometimes, a little salt and some cummin-seed are mixed with the dough. This process of cooking *chapatties* is described in the following nursery-rhyme :—

(8)

रोटी पाकाने रोटी पाकाने धियारी ।

नुन न जाने जीरा न जाने तईयो रोटी पियारी ॥

TRANSLATION.

The daughter (of the house) has prepared griddle-cakes. Though the same have been prepared either without salt or cummin-seed, yet the cakes are very nice to eat.

It has, already, been stated above that milk with rice forms the staple diet of the Bihâri infants. This milk is mostly derived from cows, as is mentioned in the following rhyme :—

(9)

आन्नरे गईया पिजाने या दुध ।

दमड़ीके गईया, छेदामके दुध ॥

आन्नरे गईया चिचोर काटना ।

साम्भ खानि आयाईहे भर आंगना

TRANSLATION.

O cows, come and feed (my baby) with milk.

The cows are worth a *damri*, the milk is worth a *chhidam*.

O cows, come and chew the cud,

And come, in the evening, and fill my courtyard.

It will appear from the nursery-rhyme No. 8 *supra* that *ârwa* or unboiled paddy is mentioned therein. Rice made from this paddy is used for offerings to the gods in Hindu religious rites and ceremonies. The *ârwa* paddy is flattened, in a pounding-mortar, into *churâ* (or flattened rice). *Churâ* with *dahi* or curdled milk is one of the favorite articles of food of the Bihâris, and is, usually, partaken of on fast days. Then, again, rice is parched with heated sand in an earthen vessel, and, in this state, constitutes the *कात्रा* of the Bihâris, which is one of the favorite articles of collation of the Bihâri children. The Gonds of Bihâr, who appear to be an offshoot of the Gond race of Central India, eke out a scanty living by selling parched rice and grains. The fact that the Gonds prepare the *कात्रा* by parching the rice in heated sand, is mentioned in the following nursery-rhyme :—

(10)

खेकते खेकते कौड़ी पाया ।

सो कौड़ी गंगाने लिया ॥

गंगा मुझको बालु दिया ।

सो बालु कालुइन् लिया ॥

कालुइन् मुझको कात्रा दिया ।

सो कात्रा घांसियाड़ा लिया ॥

घांसियाड़ा मुझको घांस दिया ।

सो घांस गाइयाने खाया ॥

गाइया मुझको दुध्वा दिया ।

सो दुध्वा बिह्लीने पिया ।

बिह्ली मुझको मुह्वा दिया ।

सो मुह्वा चिन्हीने लिया ॥

चिन्ही मुझको पांखा दिया ।

सो पांखा राजाने लिया ॥

राजा मुझको घोड़ा दिया ।

सो घोड़ा झाड़ पार ॥

तिखर चढ़े लिया दाजान ।

मिया दावाणके कम्बो कुरो ।
 घर घर कांपे यमुनापुरी ।
 यमुनापुरसे आइल मौर ।
 से गलेमें नम्रण खीर ।
 मारतेहैं जी मारते हैं ।
 दिखोसे प्रकारते हैं ।
 दिखो मिखो काशीकोट ॥
 मार बाहादुर के पेलि चोट ॥

TRANSLATION.

While playing, I found a kauri.
 That kauri was taken by the Ganges.
 The Ganges gave me sand.
 That sand was taken by a Gond.
 The Gond gave me parched rice.
 That parched rice was taken by a grass-cutter.
 The grass-cutter gave me grass.
 That grass was eaten by a cow.
 The cow gave me milk.
 That milk was drunk by a cat.
 The cat gave me a mouse.
 That mouse was taken away by a kite.
 The kite gave me a feather.
 That feather was taken by the king.
 The king gave me a horse.
 That horse went to the other side of the river.
 On that horse rides Miyān Dālāl.
 Miyān Dālāl has got a long knife.
Thereat trembles the town of Jamunāpurī.
 From Jamunāpurī came a hero.
 Round his neck hung nine hundred arrows.
 "I shall soon attack you" ;—
 From Delhi cries out *the adversary*.
 From Delhi and Kālikot.
 The valiant hero will get the first blow.

I have, already, stated before that the Bihārī women grind and pound the corn and grains at home, while the men go to the fields to reap the standing crops. This is mentioned in the following lullaby :—

(II)

सुत ए बबया कुकुरता काटे कान ।
 मास मइजन पोसे कुटे बाप काटे धान ॥

TRANSLATION.

Sleep, babe, sleep, as the dog has come to bite your ears.
Your mother has gone to grind and pound (the corn and grains), and your father has gone to reap the paddy.

Almost all lullabies commence with some words invoking sleep, as will appear from the following two examples* current among the Dhâvars, one of the four tribes living at Mâhâ-bleshwar near Bombay :—

(a)

“ Sleep, child ! sleep,
Oh cow ! come out of the hut
To give milk in the pot,
To give it to the child for drink.”

(b)

“ May sleep overtake Purasram.
All are busy in their work.
Oh child ! accept this rocking of the cradle.”

Also compare, in this connection, the following English and French lullabies :—†

(c)

“ Sleep, little brother, you must not awake,
Till mother comes home to her baby again.”

(d)

“ Fais do do Henry petit fils,
Fais do do tu auras
Le bon coco.”

The lullaby (a) *supra* is similar to the nursery-rhyme No. 9 given above.

The Bihâri women save a little money from their household expenses, by practising the most rigid economy; and the baby is told to bring his mother's savings in the undermentioned lullaby :—

(12)

बबुया रे बबुया ।
कास कास ठेबुया ॥
माईके चोरिका ।
निकास कास रे बबुया ॥

TRANSLATION.

O babe, bring the red *dhebud*s (or copper coins), which your mother has saved.

* *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, pp. 481, 483.

+ *Op. cit.* pp. 482, 483.

Sometimes, the Bihâri women croon the following nursery-rhyme to lull the babies to sleep :—

(13)
बबुया बबुया करिना ।
आंगना शिलौटी धरिना ॥
चन्दन रगड़िना ।
चन्दन भैल पातरा ।
बबुया भैलन् मोटा ॥

TRANSLATION.

Calling for the baby,
I placed the grinding-stone in the courtyard,
And rubbed the sandalwood thereon (to make some paste).
The sandalwood paste became thinner ;
But my baby became stouter.

The Bihâri mother, while dandling the baby, places it on her knees ; and, then, to the accompaniment of the following nonsense-verse which she sings, she drops down the baby from her knees on to the ground to her right and left sides alternately :—

(14)
तार काटों तरकुल काटों काटोरे बनखाना ।
हाथीपरके घघुआ चमक चले राजा ॥
गया भीत गिरेला पुराना भीत उठेला ।
संभरिहे बबुआ रे रे रे ॥

TRANSLATION.

I cut the palm-tree ; I cut the small palm-tree ; and I, also, cut the soft fleshy kernel of the palm-fruit.

On account of *Ghughuâ* (i.e. the play in which this nonsense-rhyme is sung) on the elephant, the king goes away, with a distressed heart. The new wall falls down ; and the old wall is erected. Be careful, O baby.

This nonsense-verse is somewhat similar to the following English nursery-rhyme :—

Dance, little baby, dance up high ;
Never mind, baby, mother is nigh ;
Crow and caper, caper and crow—
There, little baby, there you go !
Up to the ceiling, down to the ground,
Backwards and forwards, round and round !
Dance, little baby, and mother will sing,
Merrily, merrily, ding, dong, ding !

The Bihâri child's play of *Ghughud* is similar to the Bengali one, in which the following Bengali nonsense-rhyme is sung by the mother or nurse, to the accompaniment of the same action as in the Bihâri analogue :—

"*Ghu ghu ghu, meti su.
Sara! punti, ki diye kâti, bhângâ banti.
Sondya padbi, nâ rupoya padbi.*"

TRANSLATION.

Ghu ghu ghu, meti su.*
How am I to cut the fish called *sara! punti*, as
my fish-knife has got broken ?

(Addressing the child.) Tell me whether you will descend on
the golden, or on the silvern side.

I shall conclude this paper with the following nursery-rhyme,
which shews the Bihâri mother's fondness for her baby, whom
she compares with some of the objects dearest to her heart :—

(15)

बबुया हमार काहेके ।
सोनाके कि रूपाके ।
माइया जज्जदाके ।
दादा दादी अंजनके ।
जोग बिराना सज्जनके ।
मरहत आव बाहु काटहत आव ।
सगरे बिहार बनि आवते आव ।
माये का मोखना बहिन का साड़ी ।
फुफु का जगैजीके साड़ी ।

TRANSLATION.

What is my baby made of ?
Whether of gold or of silver ?
To me (your mother), you are as dear as the clove
which I wear on my nose.
To your grandfather and grandmother, you are as dear
as the collyrium of my eyes.
To strangers, you are as dear as a little gentleman.
Come, O baby, come beating and slashing (any body
who may oppose you).
Come after wandering through the whole of Bihâr.

* These words are meaningless.

Bring for your mother a *mokhnâ* cloth ; for your sister, a *sari*.

Bring for your paternal aunt a *sari* made at Jagaili.

The above nursery-rhyme mentions some of the articles of finery much affected by the Bihâri women. A Bihâri woman wears, in the hole of her nose, an ordinary clove of commerce, by way of nose-ornament. She paints her eyelids with collyrium to impart a soft lustre to her eyes. The cloth called *mokhnâ*, and the *sari* made at Jagaili are the finest of her wearing apparel, which she dons on the occasions of festivals and, thus, blossoms out into the splendours of a village-belle.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

ART. IV.—THE FOLK-LORE OF THE PSALMS.

THE PSALMS IN CHURCH.

THE *Psalter, the music of the Army of God, His Church.*—There are often for communities four degrees in the descent :—No dogmatic Christianity, no historical Church, no historical Christianity, no Christianity at all. If we lose nothing else, we lose the courage given by the sense of being members of a great host, with a glorious history and magnificent prospects. . . . Courage is given to the soldier of CHRIST by the visible unity of the Church to which he belongs. And the Psalter is the music of that great host as it marches on to victory. Psalm after Psalm peals grandly out of the Kingdom, the City, the Bride—of Sion and Jerusalem.

One string is mute or broken for those who do not bear within them the idea of the living Church.

For such, as they read, or hear, or sing, one great thought fades into the shadows of the Past ; subsides into the dust of antiquarianism ; falls back into the pigeon holes of history ; recedes from the Catholic, the Spiritual and the Eternal, into the local, temporary, sectarian, and natural. The accomplishment shrinks into the type, the reality into a distant memory. ' See,' cries S. Augustine, ' of what city he sayeth that very glorious things are spoken of it. The earthly Jerusalem is destroyed. It has endured the violence of its enemies ; it is laid even with the ground ; it is not what it was ; it expressed the image of what it was to represent, and passed away like a shadow.' Psalm after Psalm (pre-eminently the 46th, 48th 87th, 122nd, 133rd) bears witness to the Church. As we hear, our hearts may pass onward from the historical Jerusalem, the Church Militant, to the city of the Living GOD ;—and upward to the Church Triumphant, to Jerusalem the Golden, to where beyond these voices there is Peace.*

The use of Psalms in the Christian Church.—The Psalter was the one book the people had in their hands ; and Augustine observes, that no stranger could enter a Church, even once, without hearing the harp of David, and the voices of the prophets or Apostles. In order that the people might sing with the understanding, Augustine bestowed much pains on the exposition of this part of Scripture. In his collected writings a much larger space is devoted to the Psalter than to any other book of Scripture. He published in his own lifetime, *Enarra-*

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 155, 156.

tions, as they are styled (a kind of running commentary) on all the Psalms; and of these, the greater part were discourses actually delivered to Christian congregations. Besides the Enarrations there are some two and twenty Sermons founded on texts in the Psalms that happened to be sung on the days in which the respective sermons were preached. All through the middle ages the Psalter continued for the most part to retain its pre-eminent place in the Service of Song, but gradually degenerated into dead form owing to two reasons. Pope Gregory (died 604),

(1). In re-arranging the Church Services put an end to the ancient custom of *congregational* singing, and restricted this heavenliest act of worship to the choir and professional singers.

(2). Early Christians of the West sang in Latin (their own vernacular). In time, Latin ceased to be the language of the people, and therefore unintelligible.

At the Reformation, Luther like Augustine bestowed more labour on the Psalter than any other part of Scripture, he executed an admirable German version, and completed a Commentary on the whole Book, after the manner of S. Augustine.*

Their use in the 'Churches.'—From whatever point of view any Church hath contemplated the scheme of its doctrine—by whatever name they have thought good to designate themselves, and however bitterly opposed to each other, in Church Government, or observance of rites, you will find them all, by harmonious and universal consent adopting the Psalter as the outward form by which they shall express the inward feelings of the Christian life. It was so in the earliest times. The Passover Psalms were the 'Hymn' of the Last Supper. In the first centuries Psalms were sung at the Love-feasts, and formed the morning and evening hymns of the primitive Christians. 'Of the other Scriptures' says Theodoret, in the fifth century, 'the generality of men know next nothing. But the Psalms you will find again and again repeated in private houses, in market places, in streets, by those who have learned them by heart and who soothe themselves by their Divine Melody.' 'When other parts of Scripture are used,' says S. Ambrose, 'there is such a noise of talking in the Church, that you cannot hear what is said. But when the Psalter is read, all are silent.' They were sung by the ploughmen of Palestine, in the time of Jerome; by the boatmen of Gaul, in the time of Sidonius Apollinaris. In the most barbarous of Churches the Abyssinians treat the Psalter almost as an idol, and sing it through from end to end at every funeral. In the most Protestant of Churches,—the

* *The Psalms, their History Teaching, etc.*, by Dr. Binnie, p. 373.

Presbyterians of Scotland, the Non-Conformists of England,—‘psalm-singing’ has almost passed into a familiar description of their ritual. In the Churches of Rome and of England, they are daily recited, in proportions such as far exceed the reverence shown to any other portion of the Scriptures.*

The Psalms and the Church.—The words of Aristotle did not become more completely stamped upon the language of the world in the Middle Ages than the words of the Psalms upon the language of devotion and Theology in the Church of every age. It is not merely that preachers occasionally quote the magnificent eponium of Hooker.

It is not merely that an enormous literature of criticism and devotion has accumulated round the Psalter, so that a competent scholar, many years ago, reckoned up six hundred and thirty separate commentaries on the subject. The Psalms occupy about a fifth of our English Prayer Book. They are more familiar than the words of Ken or Cowper. Of the many aspects presented by an English Cathedral there is one which is often overlooked; it is a shrine for the Psalter, At marriages and funerals, by sick-beds and in stately ceremonies, in churches and homes they make their voices heard at every turn. They are as dear to us as the Evangelists themselves. Christianity is responsible for the Psalter with its very life.†

The Church and her use of the Psalter.—In receiving the Psalter from the Jews, and enjoining how it shall be employed in her own worship, the Christian Church seems to have generally treated it as a single and uniform collection of one hundred and fifty sacred hymns; from which, she has always, after the example of the Jews, deemed herself at liberty to select for use on particular occasions such portions as appeared the most fitting, whether they consisted of single, but entire psalms, or of single psalms abbreviated as in our Offices for the Visitation of the Sick and for the Churching of Women, or of several psalms taken from different parts of the psalter and grouped together as with us on Festival days, when those Psalms are appointed to be sung whose subjects are most in unison with the Festival. The American Church has gone yet further, and grouped together certain selected Psalms with no special reference, to be used generally on any occasion, at the discretion of the Minister; displaying in this perhaps more concession to a spirit of eclecticism than it would be wise to imitate.‡

* Stanley's *Jewish Church*, Part II, v 146.

† *The Witness of the Psalm to Christ and Christianity* p. 5.

‡ Thrupp on *The Psalms*, p. 4.

Psalms in Church—how used.—There are three principal varieties in the manner of weaving the Psalter into the rites of the Church, which are *first*, citing a Psalm either entire, or in a copious extract; *second*, breaking up portions of different Psalms into versicles and responses; *third*, introducing phrases from the Psalms into the course of collects and orisons, not by way of quotation, but as integral portions of the Psalter.*

The Church's faithfulness to the Psalter.—The more distinctly Christian hymns of her own poets from Prudentius downwards, with which she has supplemented those of the Old Testament, have varied from time to time with the historical circumstances, and with the prevailing poetical taste, religious temper, and doctrinal tone of the age; of the Psalms she has never tired; their freshness has never palled upon her, their fervour has never proved so weak as to fall short of the warmth of her devotions, nor so uncouth as to repel the delicacy of her sensibilities.

Schism's have sent the Church asunder, yet each branch has kept firm hold upon the Psalms for employment in its worship. Even where a jealous and improper exercise of Church authority has shut up the rest of the Bible from the people it has yet left the Psalter free. And again when sects have separated from the bosom of the Church with a strong antipathy to the worship of the Communion which they have left, they have hardly been content to abandon the use of the Psalter; and on its well-loved strains their own hymns have been systematically modelled.†

The Psalms and Ceremonial.—The 'hearts and imaginations' of the Psalmists 'are tinged with the endless beauty, and drink long draughts from the unfathomable significance of their ritual. Lights and colours overflow from the ordinance and sanctuary upon history, life, feeling, personal experience. The ceremonial is transfigured into thought, the thought into prayer. In the intense flame of their spirituality the ordinances of the law are taken at white heat. Its rubrics are made transparent.

Thus to note only a few instances. The Shepherd Psalm speaks of a Eucharistic gift: 'Thou preparest a table before me.' That is, the Divine Shepherd does that which in the law was appointed to be done with the table of shew bread. A laver was appointed whence Aaron and his sons were to wash their hands when they come near the altar to minister. God's priestly people were to do so in spiritual reality.—'I will wash my hands in innocency.' David's spirit yearns after rest.

* Dr. Neale's *Commentary*, Vol. IV, p. 266.

† Thrupp on *The Psalms*, p. 2.

It presents itself to him under the image of rest in the sanctuary. The prayer, 'O send out Thy light and Thy truth,' is an allusion to the Urim and Thummim.

The supernatural splendour and beauty of the newborn people, who follow the great Priest, is represented under a ritual figure—in the holy vestments, a Priest-king at the head of a sacramental host of priests. Was one of the Psalmists struck by the tenacious life of the ordered ritual of his Church? He yearned for his prayer to be taken up into, and, as it were incorporated with it. 'Let my prayer be set forth before Thee as the incense.' From this point of view, the Hebrew Psalmists were to their people as the hymnists are to those among us who love font and altar, the graceful rite, the white-robed gathering, the soul subduing Sacrament; they were as Ken, Crashaw, Herbert, Williams, Keble. They are the Hebrew *Church Poets*.*

The Psalms and Christian Theology.—As we turn from the great Theological principles of the Christian Church to the Psalms, we see in those old pages an eye that is fixed like a living thing upon the Creeds, and a mind that frames its utterances accordingly—and we say, *προβόδωσα ἡ γραφή προσευγγελίσατο*.

The Font and the Altar have Psalms that are appropriate to them, and express the ideas which belong to them. The Psalter thus bears witness to Christian Theology. When we turn from the Dogmas of faith to the means and channels through which grace is conveyed to us, it might be shown that each great branch of the Church perceives its own favourite portion of Christian thought and experience anticipated in the Psalter. Along these ample ranges, each great school of legitimate Theology finds a place. To the manifold peal of those silverbells, each ear fits the words that are dearest to it. The great *Theology*, more strictly so called, which dwells upon the objective creed, cries with S. Basil, *ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἐν θεολογία τελεία*. The Mediæval Schools, sometimes so subtle and so arid, speak with such tenderness upon the Psalms, that Luther says. 'Some fragrance of life comes to men of good-will—from words, not always rightly understood, pious souls draw something of consolation, and feel a soft breath blowing from the Psalter as if it had passed over a garden of roses!' To Luther himself, and to Bellarmine, as we read them at a distance in which the sharp angles of controversy are rounded into a heavenly calm, the Psalter is equally clear.

As we study their Commentaries, Bellarmine is little less evangelical than Luther, Luther little less ecclesiastical than Bellarmine. In our own Church it is as dear to those for what

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 113, 114, 115.

it witnesses of Justification as to those for what it witnesses of Sacraments.*

The Theory of Special Psalms.—The Christian seasons, and the use of sacred songs exquisitely appropriate to them have thus been provided for by anticipation. The Prophecy is cast in the form of a Ritual; the Prediction in a form ready made. Given the Life, Death and Glory of the Son of God; given also the existence of the Church as a community, with an outward expression, as well as an inward character; then the prophetic songs are also at the same time Church songs. The best practical proof of this is simply to turn to the 'Proper Psalms on certain Days' appointed by our Church to be used on Christmas, Good Friday, Easter and Ascension Day. The list might, of course be very largely increased. Most readers of the Bible, for instance, would at once point to the LXXII and LXXXVII Psalms as appropriate for the Epiphany. For the Advent Season, again, they would turn to the glorious and terrible octave from the VIII to the XV Psalm. For these Psalms, like the seals, trumpets, and vials in the Apocalypse, end with an anticipation of glory in the XV Psalm. And each of the intermediate Psalms is a vision of Judgment from different points of view; sometimes on the nations, sometimes on prosperous godlessness, sometimes to the persecutors of the Church, sometimes on hypocrisy.†

Recitation of the Psalms in Church.—Psalmody formed an important part of the Jewish temple worship; the singing was alternate or by way of response. The Christians naturally adopted this element; with them too the recitation was antiphonal or responsory. The appointment of the Psalter was extremely various. In Egypt the number of Psalms recited was after much diversity fixed to 12. In Spain three Psalms were sung in the nocturnal office.

In our mediæval services 12 Psalms were sung at Nocturns. The Psalms were fixed for each service through the week. Special Psalms were appointed for special occasions. The monthly course, which we observe, is peculiar to our elves; it was adopted in 1549; the rubric is of the same date. The iteration of the first, last or other characteristic verse of the Psalms, under the title antiphon, was discontinued. The Council of Laodicea, (c. 360) prescribed that Psalms and Lessons should be alternate. The same Council also required that Scripture alone should be read. The earliest trace of

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 220, 221.

† *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, p. 204.

the observance of these directions is in the ritual of the Church of Lyons derived from Ephesus, where we find, A.D. 499, Psalms, then a lesson from Moses, then Psalms again, then a lesson from the Prophets, then Psalms once more, then a Gospel and later in the Service an Epistle.*

The Psalms and their Singing.—S. Augustine in his Confessions (Confess x-33) says that he has often heard it related of S. Athanasius—who has commented on many of the Psalms, and has bequeathed to the world a valuable essay on their uses, and on the best manner of using them,—that in his Church at Alexandria he ordered the Psalm to be recited in such a tone as to resemble reading rather than singing. And S. Augustine himself, while fully recognising the spiritual benefits to be derived from choral singing of the Psalms yet frankly makes this avowal—"Whenever it happens that the singing of a Psalm affects me more than the words which are sung then I am guilty of sin, and deserve punishment, and then I would rather not hear the voice of him who sings."†

How the Psalter was sung.—There were three principal modes of singing the Psalms.

- (1.) The primitive form, the joint or collective act of the congregation in all that was sung, as Thorndike explains prophesying, in the primitive Church, in a choir guided by a leader, as Samuel led the prophets, Samuel XIX, 20-4.
- (2.) A form as early as the third century at least, when the congregation joined only in the end verses.
- (3.) In the 4th century when the Council of Laodicea, finding great inconveniences arise from the congregation joining in the Psalms and service, directed that only the canonical singers, the chanters enrolled in the Church 'list, should go up into the ambon, and sing out of the parchment. In all these forms the antiphonal mode prevailed.‡

There are four methods in which the Psalms have been ecclesiastically sung. The first, when the whole Psalm is sung by the whole choir without any response or variation. This

* *The Interleaved Prayer Book*, p. 61.

† Wordsworth's *Commentary*, p. 1.

‡ *The Double Choirs historically and practically considered*, a Lecture by Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott.

was called the Cantus Directus or Directaneus and hence one Psalm at Lauds in the Ambrosian Breviary is called the Psalmus Directus.

The second method of singing is the antiphonal, when the choir, divided into two sides, sing alternately.

The third method is where the Psalm is sung alternately between the precentor and the choir; and this is the Responsory method.

Lastly, the fourth way is when the whole Psalm or anthem is sung by a single voice, and this is called the Tract. It is needless to observe that the present Tract of the Roman Missal has retained the name only but not the character of its predecessor.*

Psalm in Holy Communion.—The Communis was an anthem so called because it was sung by the choir while the faithful communicated! This is said to have been introduced in the Roman Office by Gregory I, and it is certainly mentioned in the earliest Ordines:—"As soon as the pontiff has begun to communicate (the people) in the senatorium, the Choir begins the Antiphon for the Communion alternately with the Subdeacons, and they chant a Psalm (psallunt) until all the people being communicated the Pontiff gives them a sign to say the *Gloria Patri* and then having repeated the verse (*i.e.*, the Antiphon) they stop. The Psalms must have been said in connexion with them, the Antiphons for seven centuries. By the end of the 14th century the Psalm was evidently only a matter of tradition, as appears from the manner in which Ralph of Jongres cites Micrologus (1160) for its use:—"A Psalm is to be added (to the Antiphon) according to Micrologus with *Gloria Patri* if necessary." S. Augustine in his *Retractations* mentions that in his time a practice "began at Carthage of saying hymns at the Altar from the Book of Psalms whether before the oblation or when that which had been offered, was being distributed to the people." He wrote a tract in its defence which is not extant. In the Liturgy of St. Mark the priest is directed to say a certain Prayer "or else *Quemadmodum desiderat, i.e.*, the 42nd Psalm immediately before his own Communion. If we suppose this alternative Psalm turn over to the choir, we have the origin of the practice mentioned by S. Augustine. . . . In the Clementine is the following Rubric:—"Let the thirty-third Psalm (Psalm XXXIV) be said while all the others are communicating." This one of the Psalms said at the Fraction in S. James while a sentence from it:—"O taste and see that the

* Neales Commentary, Vol. I p. 58.

Lord is good"—is sung by the choir immediately before the communion—a rite mentioned by S. Cyril in the 4th century:—"After this (the Sancta Sanctis) thou hearest him who sings with Divine Melody, exhorting you to receive the holy Mysteries and saying, O taste and see, &c.

In the Coptic Church they sing from the Psalms during the fraction. In the Greek Alexandrine Liturgy of St. Paul "the people say the 50th Psalm (the 51st) and the Koinanikon for the Day." In that of Gregory the 100th Psalm after the Fraction, but before the Communion.*

Introit Psalms—In 1549 Introits were prefixed, as in old offices, to the Collects. The Introit was a Psalm sung as the Priest went towards the Altar; it ended with 'glory be to the Father, &c. Then the Priest said, 'Let us pray.'† ‡

Psalms in the Communion Office.—Marten tells us that "in the Order of the Mass" the Epistle follows after the Collect in the Old Book of the Sacraments; but it does not always follow immediately after. In the first ages lessons from the Old Testament were read at the Celebration as well as from the New. The Commentaries of the Apostles and the writings of the Prophets are read as time permits, says Justin Martyr in the 2nd century. Pseudo-Dionysius says, 'The Bishop begins the sacred melody of the Psalms, the whole Ecclesiastical Order chanting the holy words of Psalmody with him. Then follows the reading of the sacred volume (i.e. observes S. Maxunus of the Old and New Testament) in course by the Ministers.

An Armenian Canon (A Canon of Nierces) of the 6th century says "Let them celebrate the Liturgy aright, singing Psalms, Prophecies, Epistles and Gospels in the order."

In the Mozarabic Liturgy a short selection from the Psalms headed Psallendo, is sung before the Epistle. . . . In the Milanese there was similarly a verse or two sung from the Psalms (called at first Psallenda, and at a later period Psallmellus) between the Prophecy (i.e. the Old Testament Lesson) and the Epistle.

In the Greek Liturgy a Versicle and Response proper to the day are sung before the Epistle. From their position with regard to it they are called the Prokeimenon. The following is the Prokeimenon for the Epiphany:—"Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord." Response—"O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is gracious." Only in the Armenian do we find a proper Psalm sung before the Prophecy.

* *Notitia Eucharistica*, pp. 758, 759, 760.

† *The Interleaved Prayer Book*, p. 85.

The Psalmellus has been said to correspond to the Roman Gradual, but it appears to be more ancient, and it has always occupied a different place.*

The Early Christians and the Psalms.—The earliest notice of the Psalmody of the primitive Church, after the close of the New Testament Canon, occurs in the well-known letter sent to the Emperor Trajan by Pliny, when he was Proprætor of Bithynia about A. D. 102. Among other interesting particulars regarding the Christians, whom he found in the province in great numbers, he states that "they had been wont, on a certain day to assemble before sunrise, and to sing a Psalm to Christ as to a God." It is plain from Justin Martyr and the early Fathers that they did not sing what now would be "a Christian hymn," but a Psalm. The Christians in those days understood the Forty-fifth and other Messianic Psalms to refer to the Lord Jesus directly and exclusively, that Pliny's words would exactly agree with the account they would give of matters to a stranger, who finding them singing Psalms had asked for explanations. They would have answered, they were singing praise to Christ as a God.†

The Psalm of One Voice.—It has often occurred to me that a practice might profitably be revived among ourselves of which we frequently read in the African Church of S. Augustine's day. From time to time—more especially when the Psalm was to form the subject of the preacher's discourse—a particular Psalm was chanted throughout unbroken by reponse by a single voice. 'Ipsius servi vox est illa evidens quam in lamentationibus audistis in Psalmo, et movebamini cum audiretis, quia inde estis. Quod cantabatur ab uno de omnibus cordibus resonabat. In Joann, Evang' Tract x cap. i.‡

Psalms at funerals in the Early Church.—The Heathen had their nœmia or funeral song together with their pipers, and sometimes trumpeters to play before them; instead of this, the Christians chose to carry forth their dead in a more solemn manner, with psalmody to the grave. We cannot expect to find much of this in the three first ages, while they were in a state of persecution; but as soon as their peaceable times were come, we find it in every writer. The Author of the Apostolical Constitutions gives this direction, "that they should carry forth their dead with singing, if they were faithful; 'for precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His Saints.'

* *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 238.

† *The Psalms*:—*Their History and Teaching* by Dr. Binnie, p. 366.

‡ *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*. Note p. 310.

And again it is said 'Return to thy rest, O my soul, for the LORD hath rewarded thee' and, 'The memory of the LORD shall be blessed'; and 'the souls of the just are in the hand of the Lord.' These probably were some of those versicles (from Ps. cxvi, 15 and 7: Prov. x, 7 Ps. xcvi. 10) which made up their Psalmody upon such occasions. For St. Chrysostom speaking of this matter, not only tells us the reason of their psalmody but also what particular Psalms or portions of them they made use of as proper for this solemnity. 'What mean our hymns,' says he, 'do we not glorify God, and give Him thanks that He has crowned him that is departed, that He hath delivered him from trouble that He hath set him free from all fear? Consider what thou singest at that time: 'Turn again unto thy rest, O my soul for the LORD hath rewarded thee' (Ps. xvi. 7). And again 'I will fear no evil because Thou art with me' (Ps. xxiii, 4). And again 'Thou art my refuge from the affliction which compasseth me about' (Ps. lix, 16). Consider what these Psalms mean. If thou believest the things which thou sayest to be true, why dost thou weep and lament, and make a mere pageantry and mock of thy singing?

If thou believest them not to be true, why dost thou play the hypocrite so much as to sing. He speaks thus against those who use excessive mourning at funerals, showing them the incongruity of that with the psalmody of the Church.

'For what said they are these the men that talk so finely and philosophically about the resurrection? Yes indeed! But their actions do not agree with their doctrine. For whilst they profess in words the belief of a resurrection, in their deeds they act more like men that despair of it. If they are really persuaded that the dead were gone to a better life, they would not so lament.' 'Therefore,' says Chrysostom, 'let us be ashamed to carry out our dead after this manner. For our Psalmody and prayers and meeting of fathers, and such a multitude of brethren is not that thou shouldest weep and lament, and be angry at God; but give Him thanks for taking a deceased brother to Himself.' St. Jerome also frequently speaks of this psalmody, as one of the chief parts of their funeral pomp. He says, at the funeral of the lady Paula at Bethlehem, which was attended with a very great concourse of the bishops and clergy and people of Palestine 'there was no howling or lamenting as used to be among the men of this world, but singing of Psalms in Greek and Latin and Syriac, (because there were people of different languages present) at the procession of her body to the grave.'

And speaking of S. Anthony's burying, Paul the Hermit, he says 'wound him up, and carried him forth, singing hymns

and psalms, according to the manner of Christian burial.' Gregory Nyssen gives the same account of the funeral of his sister Macrima, and Nazianzen of the funeral of his brother Cæsarius. And the practice was so universal that Socrates takes notice of it among the Novatians, telling us how they carried the body of Paulus their Bishop at Constantinople with psalmody and hymns. And it being so general and decent a custom it was a grievance to any one to be denied the privilege of it. Victor Uticensis upon this account complains of the inhuman cruelty of one of the kings of the Vandals. 'Who can bear,' says he, 'to think of it without tears when he calls to mind how he commanded the bodies of our dead to be carried in silence, without the solemnity of the usual hymns to the grave.'

For none were wont to be denied the privilege save only such as either laid violent hands upon themselves, or were publicly executed for their crimes, or died in a wilful neglect of baptism. Such were not allowed the solemnity of psalmody at their funerals; being in the same rank with excommunicated persons, who had no title to be partakers in any offices peculiarly appropriated to communicants in the Church. But 'such as were called out of the world in the vocation of GOD,' as one of the Council of Toledo words it, that is, the bodies of all pious and religious Christians were allowed this honour of being carried to their graves with singing, but then this singing must not be those funeral songs which were commonly used among the Gentiles, accompanied with antic beating of their breasts and the like. 'For it was sufficient for Christians, whose bodies were buried in hopes of a resurrection to have the service of divine songs, or psalmody, bestowed upon them.'*

The Psalms at Antioch.—As the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch, so, according to Theodoret, it was in that city the practice of singing in the public assemblies of the Church,—the Psalms of David by the worshippers of Christ, originated.

This was in the reign of Constantine; and the names of two religious laymen, Flavianus and Piodorus have been preserved, as the individuals who introduced that method of Quire singing, which afterwards spread throughout the whole world.

At Antioch, there was an order of Monks, whose rule it was to keep up unremittent Psalmody, or what they called *Laus Perennis*.†

* Bingham's *Antiquities*, Vol. VIII, p. 143.

† Holland's *Psalmists of Great Britain*. Introduction 50.

Psalmody Island, in the Diocese of Nismes, is so named from a Monastery founded there, with similar observances by a Syrian monk from Antioch towards the close of the fourth century.*

The Psalms and the Canonical Hours.—The monks of the East used in the eighth century to pray three Psalms at each of the three prayer hours. The *seven* canonical prayer hours of the Roman Church even then developing themselves, reference being made to Psalm CXIX, 164 *seven times*.

These seven hours are the *matutina* before sunrise, when songs of praise were prayed (*laudes*); the *first* after sunrise, the *third* between sunrise and noon, the *sixth* at noon, the *ninth* between noon and sunset, the *verspers* in the evening, and the *completorium* at the close of day before retiring to rest.

S. Jerome writes to a mother whom he furnishes with counsel for her daughter (Ep. 107 ad Lætam): "Præponatur ei probæ fidei et morum et pudicitiae virgo veterana, quæ illam doceat et assuescat exemplo ad orationes et *Psalmos* noctu consurgere: *mane* hymnos cantare *tertia sexta nona* hora stare in acie quasi bellatricem Christi accensaque lucernula reddere sacrificium *vespertinum*." Here are mentioned *five* hours for prayer.†

Monastic Singing at the reception of Brethren.—Palladius mentions one instance more of the monks' devotion, which was only occasional, *viz.*, their psalmody at the reception of any brethren; for that, it seems, was the first entertainment they gave them, to conduct them with singing of Psalms to their habitation, done in imitation of our Saviour's entrance and reception into Jerusalem.‡

Early monks and the Psalms.—The early monks were so versed in Scripture that they could repeat the Psalter by heart, which is particularly noted of Hilarion by Sozomen, and S. Jerome, and by this means were qualified to entertain their souls with spiritual exercises, singing David's Psalms, and repeating other parts of Scripture, even at their bodily labours, which practice is often mentioned with great commendation by Palladius, Cassian and S. Jerome, who takes occasion upon this account to extol the quiet retirement of Christ's little village of Bethelhem above the noisy pomp and ambitious greatness of Rome, where so much time was spent in seeing,

* *Edinburgh Review*, xxxiii, 362.

† Tholuck's *Commentary*, p. 3.

‡ Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 385.

and being seen, in receiving visits and paying them, in praises and detractions, things disagreeable to the life of a monk. Whereas at Bethlehem there was nothing to be heard but psalms; one could not go to the field but he should hear the ploughmen singing his hallelujahs, the sweating mower solacing himself with hymns, and the vine-dresser tuning David's Psalms.*

The number of Psalms required at a Service.—Cassian tells the following story. On the introduction of the cœnobitic system into Egypt under S. Mark (for Cassian supposes Therapeutæ to have been Christian cœnobites) some monks were for requiring fifty, sixty or even a greater number of psalms to be chanted at a service; when one day while the brethren were seated in Church, according to the Egyptian custom, one of the company stood up, sang twelve psalms and then vanished.

The monks concluded that their visitor was an angel, and fixed the number of psalms at that which he had sanctioned.†

The Recitation of Psalms in Cathedrals.—In this Cathedral of Sarum a certain number of Psalms were assigned to each one of the Prebendaries for daily recitation by him. The same custom is recorded by the late Dean Milman as having prevailed in S. Paul's Cathedral. The same custom prevails too at Lincoln, where, I have been informed, the initial words of each man's Psalms are written up over his stall, and where I know the present Bishop (Mackenzie) of Nottingham has taken occasion to write and publish a series of Meditations upon his portions of the Psalms. Probably the same custom prevailed everywhere. In Ethiopian and Abyssinian monasteries, which contained a great number of monks, the entire Psalter was said immediately before dinner, by being divided among the monks.

The distribution of the Psalms amongst the Clergy seems to have varied in different Churches. The explanation, however, which Marten gives with respect to the Church of Amiens probably applies to all Cathedral Churches. He says that anciently the entire Psalter was recited at Amiens daily throughout the year "in conventu," that is, with all the Canons present; but on account of the burden of such a service, a portion of the Psalter was subsequently assigned for recitation to each Canon so as to ensure the daily recitation of the whole Psalter within the ecclesiastical

* Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 382.

† Robertson's *History of the Church*, Vol. I, p. 335.

body. In connection with this it will be interesting to remark in passing that the reception of the book of the Psalter from the hands of the Precentor formed a part of the ceremonial at the admission of a new Canon, certainly in the Church of Paris, and probably elsewhere.*

Psalms at Vespers.—Very different rules as to the number of Psalms prevailed in different Churches. The Egyptian Churches recited 12; Benedict appointed 4; the Roman Church 5; in the Ap Const, there is only one Psalm at Vespers; in the Mosarabic Breviary there is ordinarily not even one.†

The Pointing of the Psalms.—The Psalms are pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches, by which is meant the colon in the middle of each verse, indicating the pause to be made not only in the chant but also in the recitation, as the words clearly imply: a direction commonly neglected by readers to the great prejudice of distinct enunciation.‡

The Singing of the Psalms.—The custom of repeating the Psalms alternately or verse by verse, between the minister and people, is probably designed to supply the place of the ancient antiphon or the responsive chanting of the Psalms by two distinct choirs.‡

The Gloria Patri.—The use of the "Gloria Patri," the 'lesser dōxology,' as it was called, after the Psalms is of great antiquity. Cassian A. D. 424, says that in the East it was customary to add it to the last only of the Psalms recited, but that in all the Western Churches, except the Roman, it was used at the end of every Psalm. Its original form, which was long used in the Greek Church, was the single sentence, without any response, "Glory be to the Father, and to (by) or in) the Son, and to (or in) the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen." Before the Arian controversy it was used indifferently. But, the Arians making the words in brackets a badge of their party, the Catholics discontinued their use. The fourth Council of Toledo, A. D. 633, added the word Honour to Glory. This addition was used in the Mosarabic Liturgy, in which the form was "Glory and Honour to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen,"

* *The Gradual Psalms* by Rev. H. T. Armfield, p. 380.

† *Interleaved Prayer Book*, p. 69.

‡ *Interleaved Prayer Book*, p. 225.

The first express mention that is made of the response 'As it was' etc. was in the 2nd Council of Vaison, A.D. 529, the 5th canon of which, in decreeing its use in the French Churches, witnesses to its use at Rome and throughout Italy and Africa. The response was added for the purpose of asserting the co-eternity of the Father and of the Son.*

The Gallican Psalter is Jerome's more correct Latin translation made from Origen's Hexaplar, or most correct edition of the Greek Septuagint, filled up, where that was deficient, from the Hebrew; distinguished with obelisks and asterisks, denoting the common Greek version in those places to be either redundant or deficient. Many of the old M.S.s. still retain those marks; but more have left them out, I suppose to save trouble. This more correct Psalter was drawn up by Jerome in the year 389, and obtained first in Gaul about 580: or however not later than 595; from which circumstance it came to have the name of Gallican, in contradistinction to the Roman. From Gaul or France, it passed over into England before the year 597, and into Germany, and Spain, and other countries. The Popes of Rome, though they themselves used the other Psalter, yet patiently connived at the use of this in the Western Churches, and even in Italy itself, and sometimes privately authorised the use of it in Churches and monasteries; till at length it was publicly authorised in the Council of Trent, and introduced a while after into Rome itself by Pius the Vth. It was admitted in Britain, and Ireland, before the coming of Augustine the Monk, and prevailed after, except in the Church of Canterbury which was more immediately under the Archbishop's eye, and more conformable to the Roman offices, than other parts of the kingdom. This very Gallican Psalter is what we still retain in constant use, in our "Common Prayer Books."†

The Psalms and the Syrian Church.—There is a rule in the Syrian Church that no person can be ordained a Sub-Deacon until he has learnt the Psalter by heart. Jerome mentions that he had learnt the Psalms when he was a child, and sang them constantly in old age.‡

The Psalms Supreme.—It may be accepted as a well-ascertained fact that, down till so late a period as the middle of the fourth century the Psalms reigned supreme and almost alone in service of song throughout the whole Church and especially in the West.§

* *The Interleaved Prayer Book*, p. 227.

† *Waterland's History of the Athanasian Creed*, Chap. iv.

‡ *The Psalms—Their History and Teaching*, by Dr. Binnie, p. 366.

§ *Ibid.*

The Prayer Book Version.—The English version in our Book of Common Prayer was made in A. D. 1535 and revised A. D. 1539. It was formed from the original Hebrew, but for the most part, from that Latin version which is called the Gallican Psalter, and which was derived mainly from the LXX, and was due to S. Jerome (C. A. D. 390) and is in substance the Vulgate, or commonly received version of the Psalms in the Latin Church.*

The Bible Version.—Our own English version of the Psalter in our authorised translation of the Psalms was made by command of King James I in A. D. 1610 from the original Hebrew. Inferior to the Prayer Book Version in rythmical beauty and musical applicability, but much superior to it in critical accuracy, it will never supersede that version in the choral service of the Church. †

The Psalms as a Penance in the Church of England.—To what extent the Psalter was rendered available in the discipline of the Church in England, even in times anterior to the Conquest, may be inferred from the fact, that not only was the repeating of the Psalms declared to be highly meritorious in itself, but the exercise was held as eligible for the commutation of a pecuniary mulct. "Hence," says Soame (Hist. Ang. Sax. Ch.) "he who shrinks from a fast, yet wanted means to commute it for money, might still appease an accusing conscience by proportionate numbers of Psalms."

What these numbers were we are told in the Penitential E. Ecgbert. "He who owes one week on bread and water, let him sing 300 Psalms kneeling, or 320 without kneeling; and he who must do penance, a month's space on bread and water, let him sing a thousand Psalms and 200 kneeling, and without kneeling 1,680. ‡

The Psalter in the Scottish Prayer Book.—These were two issues of the Psalter in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637. The title page is one is:—"The Psalter or Psalms of David: after the translation set forth by authority in James his time of Blessed Memory. As it shall be sung or said through all the Churches of Scotland. Edinburgh. Printed by Robert Young, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestic. Anno MDCXXXVI. Cum privilegio."

The American Prayer Book divides the Psalter as our own;

* Bishop Wordsworth's *Commentary*, p. xv.

† Holland's *Psalmist of Britain*, p. 23.

‡ *Ibid.*

but it has also ten "Selections of Psalms to be used instead of the Psalms for the day, at the discretion of the minister, and portions of Psalms to be sung or said at Morning Prayer, on certain Feasts and Fasts instead of the *Venite Exultemus*, when any of the foregoing selections are to follow instead of the Psalms, as in the Table." These "portions" are formed of verses culled out of certain named Psalms and are invitations for Xmas Day, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. The rubric after the *Venite* is: 'Then shall follow a *Portion* of the Psalms as they are appointed, or one of the *Selections* of the Psalms set forth by this Church. And at the end of every Psalm and likewise at the end of the *Venite*, *Benedicite*, *Jubilate*, *Benedictus*, *Cantate Domino*, *Bonum est confiteri Deo misericorditer*. *Benedic anima mea* may be said or sung the *Gloria Patri*, and at the end of the whole *Portion* or *Selection* of Psalm for the day, shall be said or sung the *Gloria Patri*, or the *Gloria in Excelsis*, as followeth.*

Adam of S. Victor in a sequence in the dedication of a Church says:—

Quarum tonat initium
In tubis epulantium,
Et finis per Psalterium.

The Psalms, a Prophetic Manual of Prayer.†—If we measure the value of products by their rarity then prayers are the most precious of all products. The barbarism of the Hebrew people was one of the favourite topics of the last century: it is not unheard of now. Be it so. Yet the prayers of these barbarians are reasonable, profound, pathetic, interesting, sublime. At times they bring tears to our eyes. At times they lift us up from the earth. True prayers are not compositions. They are not rhapsodies. But they are effusions. There are only two uninspired utterances of devotion which can compete with the Psalms in universality of use, in depth and extent of effect. Of these the *Te Deum* has, by a sort of instinct, been said to be *improvised* by Ambrose and Augustine. The other is the wonderful anthem or sequence—*Mediæ Viæ* so often mistaken for a Psalm or text. It came from the heart of Nolker, as he watched, the samphire gatherers at 'their dreadful trade' on the cliffs of S. Gall. As the dirge rose before his soul, it moulded itself round a form of the

* Proctor on the 'Prayer Book,' Note p. 47.

† The few remaining extracts in this Chapter, although, strictly speaking, they may not come under the heading of the Chapter, yet, at the same time, they are on subjects akin to it, and the beautiful language in which they are expressed makes them doubly valuable.

Trisagion. In speaking of the rareness of prayers as a product, I must draw a distinction. In the places of worship of our Separatist Protestant brethren in this country, the gift of prayer is exercised without the trammel as it is supposed to be, of a book. When we pass into Scotland, we come to a land in whose parish Churches prayers which are called extemporaneous are offered up publicly every Sunday. Who doubts that they are sincerely offered, with pure lips and from holy hearts, through the one Mediator, and have brought blessings upon millions of souls? But, viewed as words to be employed by men, they have died away as they floated out of the Church, and left no traces behind. Is there a single prayer which has been used in these communions that has found its way into the hearts of men?

In our own land the press teems with manuals of devotion. But, after meeting a temporary demand, they are left upon the publisher's shelf. To-day they are, and to-morrow are cast into the oven. 'Parliament, Prelates, Convocations, Synods, may order forms of prayer.' They may get speeches to be spoken upward by people on their knees. They may obtain a juxta-position in space of curiously-tesselated pieces of Bible or Prayer Book. But when I speak of the rareness and preciousness of prayers, I mean such prayers as combine three conditions—permanence, capability of being really prayed, and universality. Such prayers Primates and Senates can no more command than they can order a new Cologne Cathedral, or another Epic Poem.

For, the prayers which we now contemplate are those which have come from some individual spirit, but from him have passed into the sanctuary, leaving echoes there that never cease to reverberate; and which from the sanctuary again have been wafted like seeds on the wings of every wind. Prayers, which, when once they have been learned, mingle with the memory in other years like the music of a nursery song;—prayers which like some mysterious vestment fit every human soul in the attitude of supplication;—prayers for every time, place, circumstance; for the bridal and the grave, the storm and the battle, the king and the peasant, the harlot sobbing on her knees on the penitentiary floor, and the saint looking through the lifted portals into the city of God; from the solitary soul on the Hospital stretcher, and the thousands crowded in the great Minister;—prayers for the seasons when the Church looks upon the Crucified, and for those when he bursts the bars of the tomb, and ascends to His Father's Throne. Such prayers the world has never seen but once. Thus in the Psalms, we have a Prophetic Manual of prayer, providentially prepared for the peculiarities

of that character with which God intended to gladden the earth.*

The Psalms and Eternal Hope.—As we think of the Psalms in connection with the blessed hope of Eternal Life, yet others and others crowd upon our memory. As we turn over the pages of the Psalter we associate with them calm, sweet faces, from which, when our eyes see them next, the lines of pain and sorrow shall be smoothed out, and they shall look fairer and nobler than they ever did. From the cross, the stake, the faggot, the sick room, fragments of Psalms break upon our ears, set to the music of Easter. We turn to the 23rd and we think of Edward Irving, dying on that Sunday in December 1824, murmuring again and again in Hebrew ‘The Lord is my shepherd.’ The 71st stands in our own office for the sick; it is the only Psalm with its antiphon preserved: ‘O Saviour of the world! who by Thy Cross and precious Blood had redeemed us, save us and help us.’ The fifth verse of the 31st Psalm rises from saint after saint. It was spoken by Jesus first; then it came (as Dr. Kay has mentioned from S. Stephen, S. Polycarp, S. Basil, Epiphanius of Pava, S. Bernard, S. Louis, Huss, Columbus, Luther, Melancthon.

It was, I may add, the last spoken on earth by Silvio Pellico. One day in January, 1854, he dictated these broken words: ‘Adieu, sister! Adieu, brother.’ Adieu dear benefactress! Yes, Adieu! We all go to God. “*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.*” A few instants after, he fell asleep. Why is it that saintly souls turn to them in affliction, and are soothed by them as it by the voice of Christ? That S. Jerome records how in that great mourning for Paula, Psalms were sung in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Syriac?

That the solemn silence after Monica’s departure was broken first by the cadence of a chanted Psalm? No book which was without the assurance of immortality could have cheated so many dying saints, and deceived so many generations of manners. There is not a pall of darkness over the Psalms; no odour of the Charnel-house exhales from them. The hopes of eternity trickle, like drops of light, from the pens of their writers. They come to us, like the breath of violets in a letter which reaches us from a land of sunshine.†

The Psalms and Natural Religion.—Natural Religion finds inimitable expression in the Psalter. It is well to note the great importance of this in a book providentially designed

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 126, 127, 128.

† *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 98, 99.

for the widest circulation and most constant use in Christian worship. We, at least, live in an age when the very idea of a personal God is assailed from various quarters, ultra-material and ultra-spiritual.

The Psalms in their deeper significance, waken echoes in a land far off. They prophesy of another worship and theology. But in their most literal and superficial expression in words which no man can mistake, they set to music the first article of the Creed, 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth,' and supply it with an exuberant and attractive commentary.

This many-voiced republication of Natural Religion, this vivid, impassioned, picturesque assertion of the existence and attributes of God, is of priceless value.*

The Psalms and 'My Father.'—We should notice one remarkable omission in the Psalms. 'As God,' says Donne, 'hath spangled the firmament with stars, so the Psalms with His Name.' The Psalmist sung of God with a wealth of attributes which put our colder hearts to shame. God is his sun, his light, his shield, his rock, his salvation, his defence, his glory, his refuge.

Never praise of love or wine,
Panted forth a flood
Of rapture so divine.

Yet, through all his strains one epithet is never applied to God. In all these Psalms beyond which the Church cannot rise at Christmas, Easter, or Ascension tide, in all those deep and burning songs, no Psalmist has ever cried, 'My Father.' Psalm LXXXIX, 26 may occur to some as an explanation. But it has been well remarked, 'David in toto Psalterio nusquam invocat Deum sub nomine Patris. Proinde non de ipso dicitur. *Ipse invocabis me, Pater meus es Tu.* Fortasse particulari providentiâ Dei factum est, ut David nusquam invocaret Deum sub nomine Patris, ut hic locus non acciperetur de David, nisi ratione Christi,'—Bellarmin, *Explanat, in Psalm,* p. 656.†

M. A. CAMBRIDGE.

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 204, 205.
† *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 207, 208.

ART. V.—AN ANCIENT INDIAN DRAMA OF THE
TENTH CENTURY A. D.

*Karpūra-Manjarī. A Drama by the Indian Poet Rājaṣekhara.
Edited by Dr. Sten Konow, Translated into English by Prof.
C. R. Lauman, Cambridge, Mass. U. S. A. Published by
Harvard University. 1901.*

IT is a happy sign that the study of the Sanskrit language and literature is making rapid progress in the United States. The centre of these studies is the Harvard University at Cambridge, Mass. U. S.; and the authorities of that institution have conferred a lasting obligation on all Oriental scholars in general, and all students of Sanskrit in particular, by establishing the Harvard Series of Oriental works, which is edited with the co-operation of various scholars by Mr. Charles Rockwell Lauman, Professor of Sanskrit in that University. The object of this series is, mainly, a historical one, namely, the exposition of the history of religions, specially, those of India. With this object in view, the editors have begun to publish works dealing with Indian literature, history and archæology, according to their chronological sequence, and the different schools of thought and the systems of religion, such as Vedic, Brāhmanical, Jaina and Buddhist from which they have emanated, for the express purpose of elucidating the different languages, namely, Vedic, Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Pāli, in which they are embodied.

Karpūra-Manjarī, a drama by the Indian poet Rājaṣekhara, which is the subject of this review, forms the fourth volume of this series. So long ago as 1876, Professor Pischel wrote that "a critical edition of the *Karpūra-Manjarī* is an urgent necessity for the advancement of Prākṛit studies." This long deferred hope has, at last, been realized in the present volume, which has been critically edited in the original Prākṛit, with a glossarial index and an essay on the life and writings of the poet by Dr. Sten Konow of the University of Christiania, Norway, and translated into English and annotated by Professor C. R. Lauman. The sacred scriptures of the Jains are all written in Prākṛit. But, as there are only a few works in that language, the publication of this first critical edition of this unique play in Prākṛit will prove a welcome boon not only to the students of that language, but also to those of the Jaina religion.

Rājaṣekhara flourished, according to Fleet, about 900 A. D., and was a Yāyāvara Brāhman of the Cāiva sect. In all his four extant plays, he declares himself to be the spiritual

teacher of a king Mahendrapāla or Nirbhayarāja, the latter being a *biruda* or ὄνομα πανηγυρικόν of the former name. His family, originally, came from Mahāāshtra, that is, from Vidarbha and Kuntala, which are included in the Western Deccan. His grand-father was Akāṣajalada; his father Lurduka or Duhika was a high minister, and his mother's name was Cilavata. It is said that, like Bilhana, Rājaṣekhara left his native country to seek wealth and fame at foreign courts, for we find him installed as the Court poet at Kanauj, which post he seems to have held even during the reign of Mahendrapāla's son and successor Mahīpāla. There is epigraphic evidence extant to shew that, at sometime of his life, our poet had some connection with the Court of the Cedi princes.

Rājaṣekhara was, to use Apte's words, "a poet of great learning and much information." The poet himself seems to have been very proud of his linguistic skill, as he directly calls himself, in his writings, *sarvabhāṣāvīcaksana* or *sarvabhāṣācadura*. As far as is known he himself wrote only in Sanskrit and Prākṛit. At the present day, the following four plays are extant, which are ascribed to Rājaṣekhara:—
 1. *Karpūra-Manjarī*. 2. *Viddha-ṣālabhañjika*, or "The Statue."
 3. *Bāla-rāmāyana*. 4. *Bāla-bhārata* or *Pracanda pāṇḍava*.
 The editor Dr. Sten Konow thinks that the *Karpūra-Manjarī* (or the Camphor-Cluster) is the oldest of the poet's plays, from the fact that it was not, like the other plays, acted under the orders of the king, but at the request of the poet's wife Avantisundarī. It contains four acts and describes how the king Candapāla marries *Karpūra-Manjarī*, the daughter of the Kuntala king, and, thus, becomes a paramount sovereign. The queen's jealousy, and the intrigues by which the meeting of the king and the heroine *Karpūra-Manjarī* is brought about, constitute the plot of this drama.

The Indian drama appears to have its basis partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prākṛit literature. But the only extant Indian play, which is written in Prākṛit exclusively, is the *Karpūra Manjarī* by Rājaṣekhara which is the subject of this review. Our poet Rājaṣekhara has, therefore, made his mark in Prākṛit literature by reason of the circumstance that he has given us a unique specimen of a kind of literature, which has, perhaps, a history of its own.

The *Karpūra-Manjarī* is, also, of great importance to the student of the general history of the Indian drama, as we find in it the mention of the *Sthāpaka*, who had something to do with the arrangement of the play, and of his action, although this character has disappeared from most of the known Indian plays. We, also, find from the Stage Manager's speech, at the end of the Prologue to this play, that the roles

of the female characters used, in those days, to be played by women. It is, also, noteworthy for another curious fact occurring in it, namely, the recital of verses after the Nāndī. The two most distinguishing features of the Prākṛit language, as written by Rājçakḥara in his *Karpūra-Manjarī* as also other works, is his extensive use of rare and provincial words, of which a list is given in the work under notice, and also of Maṛāthi ones. Another remarkable literary characteristic of our poet is his abundant use of proverbial expressions, as for instance, the saws: "Bangle on your wrist, no need of a mirror" * (meaning: the fact is as plain in that talk as is a bangle on your wrist, without a mirror); "Asking the bystanders if a horse is speeding, when you see him on the dead run" (*i.e.*, there is no need of asking, etc.); "Gold is not tested without a touchstone" (Act I of the *Karpūra-Manjarī*); "Piling up the old palm-leaves" (*i.e.*, piling the same word-series; threshing the same old straw); "Snake on your head—and the doctor away;" "Can't trust a boat even when it has touched the shore" (Act IV of the same play); and many others too numerous to be quoted here. Another of our poet's notable characteristics is his masterly command of the more elaborate metres. He, also, occasionally uses rhyme, as, for instance, two of the magician's ribald songs in the *Karpūra-Manjarī* are full of internal rhymes.

Although this drama is mainly important to the philologists, and to the students of the Jaina religion, it throws a good deal of light on the manners and customs prevalent in the court of a Hindu king in the beginning of the tenth century of the Christian era, the beliefs and superstitions that were current in those times; and the state of the fine arts in that period, and a great deal of other interesting matter. From it, we know the names of the beasts, birds, reptiles and creeping things that were familiar to, and the names of the trees and flowers that were cultivated by the Hindus of that remote age. In fact, from the study of this play, we may construct a vivid picture of the home-life of the ancient Hindu patricians and plebeians of the tenth century A. D. The drama, under review, is, therefore, of great interest to the students of Indian antiquities, folklore, ethnography and geography.

As for domestic manners and customs, of the people and the aristocracy, we find from it (Act I, St. 14) that the houses were, in those times, like the modern bungalows and had a verandah running all round it. In the cold weather, the inmates slept within the inner apartments, and used blankets

* This saying is current even at the present day, as a Maṛāthi proverb, and is given in Vainawaring's collection.

for muffling themselves up with. During the summer, they slept in the verandah to avoid the stifling heat of the inner apartments. The wealthier classes, such as Rājās and Rānīs, spent their evenings on roof-terraces, where couches, "delightful in the starlight," were spread for them to sit upon. (Act I, St. 36.) These latter slept upon couches (Act III, St. 3), and sometimes, used divans for lounging upon. (Act III, St. 27). Palm-leaf fans (Act III, St. 20) and punkahs, besprinkled with drops of water (Act IV, St. 8) were used for fanning purposes. Incense of aloes was burnt to fumigate the rooms. (Act III, St. 27.) Luxurious people used shower-baths. (Act III, St. 20; Act IV, St. 10.) The pleasure-pavilions of the wealthy "showed circling wreaths of incense rising from burning aloes; they were ablaze with the lighted lamps they had pendent festoons of lustrous (or rarest) pearls; they swarmed with doves let loose; in them were prepared charming pleasure-couches; while on the divans appeared the gouting women-folk." (Act III, St. 27.)

The women wore *saris* (Act I, St. 27) which were, sometimes, of silk fabrics and trimmed (Act I, St. 21¹⁰), and bodices (Act I, St. 13), which they dispensed with during the hot weather. They anointed their hair with fragrant oil, braided the same into tresses (Act I, St. 13), and adorned the same with flowers (Act II, St. 21). They painted their eyelids with collyrium, washed their faces with chalk-water to lend them a whitish appearance (Act III, St. 33) and, sometimes, painted themselves with mineral rouge (Act III, St. 18). They wore, on their necks, pearl-necklaces and strings of emeralds (Act III, St. 18); on their hands, bracelets and bangles; in their ears, earrings; on their feet, anklets which were, sometimes, of emerald (Act II, St. 13). They wore girdles of jewels round their waists (Act III, St. 13 and 18).

Among the persons that composed the fabric of society of those days, were the Brāhmans, merchants, physicians (Act IV, St. 7), dancing-girls (Act IV, St. 11), jewellers and goldsmiths (Act I, St. 21, ¹⁴), slave girls (Act I, St. 21, ³⁵) and outcasts (Act I, St. 21, ²⁹), and others.

Included among the retinue of the royal courts were hunchbacks, dwarfs and pigmies who were kept for amusing the kings (Act III, St. 34⁸). Dwarfs are, frequently, represented in Indian paintings and sculptures, and appear on the frescoes in the Ajanta Caves. Eunuchs and harem-keepers were employed to guard the royal Zenanas (Act III, St. 34⁸). The queens were attended upon by girls who held chowries or fly-flappers of yaks' tails, ladies-in-waiting, female betel-box-bearers, bath-keepers and reciters of witty sayings (Act IV, St. 10, ⁷⁻¹²).

The appurtenances of a theatre are vividly described in the following passage from Act I, Stanza 5 :—"Our players seem to be busy about their acting: for one actress is getting together such costumes as suit the rôles; another is twining garlands of flowers; a third is putting the masks in order; some one seems to be rubbing colours on a palette; here they are tuning a flute; there a lute is being strung; and here they are making ready three drums; here the noise of timbrels is heard; there they are rehearsing the introductory stanza."

Gambling was largely indulged in; and the gambling-hell appears to have been an established institution (Act I, St. 21, 22).

Spirituos drinks were largely drunk and meat was eaten, as the Magician Bhaṛavānanda says: "Good meat I consume, and I guzzle strong drink" (Act I, St. 23). The liquor appears to have been manufactured from grapes, for we have mention of grape-juice in Act II, St. 26.

Some degree of progress appears to have been made in several branches of the Fine Arts. We have mention, in this play, of pictures (Act I, St. 27 and 30; Act II, St. 4), and of picture-galleries (Act I, St. 36). Statues were also carved, for the Jester says: "Nobody but the moon can make the moonstone statue to ooze" (Act IV, St. 19³⁶), the moonstone being a fabulous gem, supposed to ooze or deliquesce under the moon's rays. Dancing appears to have been a favorite pastime; and a few kinds of dances and the methods of dancing them are described in the following passage :—"Circling around with charmingly-varied pose of hands and feet, these two and thirty dancing girls"—they tread their mazy rounds, their steps keeping time with the music. In thy court is seen the "staff-dance."

"With their shoulders and heads even, with their arms and hands even, other maidens, each with clean-cut pose, and ranged in two rows each facing the other, are rendering the *challi*-dance, and regulating its tempo by the beaten measure."

"And one fawn-eyed girl, sounding the drum that makes you shudder, and with the pleasant noise of a tambour, with her creeper-like arms alternately swaying, has started to execute the performance of the *challi*."

"Others are performing, as might a fay, a graceful dance in tempo, with a jingling made by their bells, with the measure regulated by the tempo of vocal music, and with the clear tinkle of anklets." (Act. IV, St. 11, 12, 16 and 17.)

Songs were sung by the dancers, while they danced, as is the practice, at the present day, with the modern Indian dancing-girls. (Act. III, St. 14.)

While on the subject of pastimes, I may refer to the fact

that swinging was one of the popular amusements of the womenfolk of those days. (Act I, St. 21; Act. II, St. 30), as it is, at the present day of those of Bihar. A swinging scene is also depicted on a fresco in the Ajanta Caves. There are, also, various swinging festivals. The most famous is the Dola-yātrā (culminating with the Phālguna full moon), during which images of Krishna are placed on a swing and swung. The weight of the idols often broke the swing. Again, on the eleventh of the bright half of Chaitra, Vishnu and Lakshmi are swung. There was, also, a swinging festival of Gaurī and Civa.

There was also the वटसवित्रो (वटसवित्रो) or the great Festival of the Deity of the Banyan (Act IV, St. 15¹⁸). It is defined in the glossary appended to the work, as "the divinity fancied to be in the Vata-tree during Vatasāvitṛivṛata, an observance among women on the day of the full moon of the Jyāistha." It is a pity that, as this work is also intended for general readers, the learned Translator has not given a fuller account of this important festival than the meagre note he has supplied.

It has, already, been stated above that our poet belonged to the Caiva sect. His religious persuasion is indicated by the numerous allusions to Civa, Pārvatī and Gaurī, which are scattered throughout the play.

The antiquity of the Mahābhārata is proved by the reference to Yudhishtira which occurs in the passage (Act I, St. 21¹⁵), wherein the Jester chaffs Vichakshanā by saying "If you ridicule me that way, I will tear off that part of you that goes by the name of Yudhishtira's eldest brother."

That the cow and her five products were held sacred in the tenth century of the Christian era, is proved by the Jester's speech in Act I, St. 21²⁰.

The beasts, mentioned in this play, are the horse; bull; elephant; antelope (and the fawn); cat (Act II, St. 30¹¹; Act IV, St. 38); muskdeer (Act III, St. 21³); and the dolphin which is the banner of Cupid in the Hindu mythology.

The birds referred to are the Chakor or the Greek partridge; the starling (*Acridotheres tristis*); cuckoo; gander; white goose; the Ruddy Sheldrake (*Osarca rutila*); king-parrot; peacock; the *Kala-haṇsa* (a kind of white teal with grey wings), which was tamed and held in high esteem on account of its supposed agreeable cry; dove, which was most probably, a kind of pigeon and kept as pets in the pleasure-pavilions of the kings; koil; and parrot. The serpent is also mentioned.

Our poet Rājasekhara's botanical knowledge is evidenced by

the frequent mention of the following flowering shrubs and trees :—Champak (*Michelia champaca*); jasmine; asoka (*Jonesia asoka*); ketaka (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) of which the hollow flower-leaves were used as offerings to the goddess Pārvatī (Act II, St. 7) and on which leaves love-messages used to be scratched with the finger-nails (Act II, St. 7²⁰); lotus; blue lotus; water-lily; the *Tilak* and the Amaranth, both of which were said to burst into flowers, if a maiden in love embraced the first, or looked at the second (Act II, St. 43); the *Tamala* (Act II, St. 44²); the bakula (*Mimusops elengi*); the East Indian rose-bay which has been identified with the *Tabernaemontana coronaria*; the Kadamba (*Nandea cadamba*); the acacia (Act IV, St. 7); the *Sinduvāra* shrub (*Vitex negundo*) which is said to bear a quantity of white blossoms (Act I, St. 19), as also berries of which necklaces were made (Act IV, St. 7); and the Cephālikā—the night-blooming Jasmine or the “Deserted Sweetheart” (*Nyctanthes arbor tristis*) which, the Jester in the play says: “Nobody but the moon can make to bloom profusely.” The *Nyctanthes* tree is well-known in Indian poetry and legends for its night-blooming property and the fragrance of its flowers. Of this celebrated flowering tree, the famous Dutch traveller J. H. Linschoten published, more than three hundred years ago, the following pretty fable :—“There was a certain nobleman named Paisatico, whose exceedingly beautiful daughter was wooed by the sun; and, when dazzled by his charm, she surrendered to the importunity of such a glorious lover. She was basely deserted by him for another damsel with whom he had become enamoured. Hence the grief of the deserted maiden, who, in a fit of sad despair, put an end to her own life. The corpse was placed on a funeral pile and consumed by the flames; and they positively assert that this tree (*Nyctanthes arbor tristis*) sprang from the ashes of the deserted beauty; and in token of her grief and indignation, it sheds its flowers with the rising sun, and closes its petals, preferring to exhibit its ceaseless woe during the gloomy hours of the night.”

It is to be regretted that neither the learned Editor nor the Translator has identified the plants bearing the name of *Tamala*, and the one which has been translated into the English name Amaranth.

Among the trees mentioned by our poet are the Dhāk (*Butea frondosa*); sandal, horse-radish tree* (*Moringa pterygosperma*) of which according to the Translator, “the bulbs are cut up for a pungent sauce and the limbs are torn off for their flowers.” (Act I, St. 21²⁹.) [This note of the Translator is erroneous, as

* सोपानक (सोपानक) or दरादक।
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the tree is not a bulbous plant and has no bulbs. Its roots are sometimes boiled and eaten like horse-radish by Anglo-Indians; while its leaves, flowers and pods are eaten in Bengal; the plantain; birch; areca-nut; mango (Act IV, St. 5); the banyan; the jack-fruit (*Artocarpus integrifolia*); and the coral-tree (*Erythrina indica*) "which is used for hedges and largely employed to support the black pepper vine."

The folklorist will find, in this play, a fair amount of materials for his study. As throwing a side-light on the practice of magic and witchcraft in Ancient India, the Magician Bhairavānanda has been introduced into the drama, who says that he possesses the following thaumaturgic powers:—

I can bring down the moon to the ground
And show you its rabbit-face round.

The car of the sun I can stop in mid-sky.

Wives of sprites, gods, or Siddhas through heaven that fly,
Or of Civa's retainers,—I fetch 'em anigh.

Lord knows what on earth I can't do if I try.

(Act I, St. 25.)

The magician was, also, believed to possess a magic car which moved about without hindrance or obstruction from gravity, walls and such other obstacles. (Act IV, St. 21⁵⁹.)

We have allusions to the practice of human sacrifice and, possibly, of cannibalism in Ancient India in the passage (Act IV St. 15), wherein coquettish girls are represented as enacting a cemetery-scene by "bearing in their hands *offerings of human flesh*, and wearing the masks of night-wandering ogresses."

Then, there is the popular belief that there is a rabbit in the moon (Act I, St. 25). About this, the learned Translator has given the following note which is, I think, not correct:—"The Hindu sees, not a 'man in the moon,' but a rabbit." There is current, even at the present day, a belief among the Hindus of Bihār and Bengal to the effect that there is an old woman in the moon who is sitting there spinning thread on her spinning-wheel. It was, also, believed that there is a spotted antelope in the moon (Act II, St. 20; Act III, St. 31 and 34); and the dark spots or flecks on the moon's disc are often likened to that black or dappled antelope. Hence the moon is frequently called *mrgāṅka* or *harinalaksana* by the Sanskrit poets. The belief that lunar eclipses are caused by the demon Rāhu's swallowing or hiding the moon, is referred to in Act II, St. 21.

We have, also, allusions to various folk-beliefs about different kinds of birds and reptiles. The *Chakora* birds, which are known to naturalists as *Occabis chucar*, Gray, are popularly believed to feed upon moon-beams. (Act I, St. 1.) The

Gander, or, more properly, the swan is supposed to frequent the Mānsarovāra Lake in the Himālayas (Act II, St. 7¹⁰) and to feed upon fresh unpierced pearls. The Ruddy Goose or Sheldrake, which is known to naturalists as *Casarca rutila*, Pallas, is also mentioned. (Act II, St. 8 and 50.) The conjugal fidelity of the Ruddy Goose, and her mate is proverbial. They are condemned to pass the night in most pitiful separation.

The snakes, like the chameleon and the sand-lizard are popularly supposed to feed upon the wind. Sir Joseph Fayrer, in his *Thanatophidia of India*, says: "Some of the snake-catchers have a curious notion concerning the sex of the cobra. They say that the hooded snakes are all females and poisonous, and that the males are all hoodless and innocent." The modern snake-charmer's belief that only the female serpents are hooded, was current in India one thousand years ago and accepted by our poet who alludes to it in Act I, St. 20.

The belief that, if rain falls in an oyster, the rain-drops are converted into pearls, was current in India one thousand years ago, as is evidenced by the references to it in Act III, St. 4¹⁸. This belief was also current among the Ancient Romans, and is also prevalent, at the present day, among other Oriental races, such as the Tamils and the Persians. There is a fine mystical poem about this popular notion in Book IV of Sa'di's *Bustān* or *Garden of Odours*.

Then we have the curious belief, so often mentioned by the Sanskrit poets, that the Asoka tree (*Fonesia asoca*) burst into flowers; when touched by a fair maiden's foot. (Act I, St. 21²⁷; Act II, St. 43 and 47). Then, again, there are allusions to the belief that, if a maiden, who is in love, looks at a Tilak tree (*Clerodendron phlomides*), or embraces an amaranth, both of the same, will burst into flowers (Act II, St. 43).

Our poet has also incidentally described the rites of tying the symbolical wedding-knot in the upper garment (Act IV, St. 21¹³), the sunwise circumambulation thrice made by the bridegroom and the bride around the nuptial fire, and of throwing parched grain into the same fire, which are so essential to the performance of marriage-ceremonies among the Hindus.

Although the literary merit of the work under review is meagre, the plot thereof being scanty and there being no development of characters, yet there are some passages in it which show that our poet possessed finer feelings for the beautiful in nature. Witness, for instance, the passages in which the First Bard describes the effects of the vernal breeze (Act I, St. 15) and the Second Bard the blowing of the flowers at the

advent of the spring (*Ibid*, St. 16), as also the verses in which the king expresses his admiration of the bursting into bloom of the Asoka tree (Act II, St. 47). The stanzas in which sunset, evening and moonrise have been described (Act II, St. 50; Act I, St. 35-36; and Act III, St. 25) are also fine and testify to the poet's picturesque sensibility and appreciation of the softer moods of nature.

The text has been carefully collated with 13 MSS. partly by the Editor, Dr. Konow, and partly by Professor Pischel and Dr. Lüders, and has been printed in bold and clear Devanagari types. The usefulness of this edition has been considerably enhanced by the addition of chapters on the geography and time-allusions of the play as also on the Hindu seasons, months and asterisms. Considered from every point of view, the work under review is a very valuable addition to Prākṛit literature.

ÆSCYÆM.



ART. VI.—SHAKESPEARE AS PEDAGOGUE.

OUR avowed intention to administer, legislate, and educate in India free from all religious bias, has its natural outcome in such books as the four little Shakespeare's monographs noted below.* Morality must be taught to the young—and its tone must be set "so far as we are concerned" by Western ideals. But the genius of Western morality has for a full thousand years been Christian. It is then Christian morality that we cannot fail to set before the youth of India. The bounds we have, according to our own standard of justice, set ourselves, forbid us to teach it with the authority of Christ as the Son of God—even the New Testament we can only use as one out of many text-books. We may take Shakespeare however as a not professedly religious teacher, and from his plays draw morals really Christian. This is the idea of the author of these four suggestive little monographs, Dr. Miller is the Principal of a Christian College and a Doctor of Divinity. When will the thinking world in India (and indeed the so-called free-thinking world in the West) recognize that it is Christianity that has made the morals of Shakespeare?

Take Gloucester's attempt at suicide in "King Lear," a play which in its appeals to Apollo and other gods gives intrinsic evidence that the *dramatis personæ* are pagans: the attempt is frustrated by a pious fraud on the part of Gloucester's unrecognized son, Edgar, and a short time afterwards Gloucester is found praying:—

"You ever gentle gods, take my breath from me ;

"Let not my worser spirit tempt me again

"To die before you please.

Edgar. "*Well pray you, Father.*"

This is the Christian view of suicide, and not that of either the Eastern or the older or modern Western non-Christian world. It is a higher view than Edgar's later expression :

"Men must endure

"Their going hence, even as their coming hither,"

for it gives the Divine Will as the sole justifiable cause of death; the idea of a Divinity shaping our ends, a Divine Person in whose Will is our peace, is Christian, that of a mere

* Shakespeare's *Orhella* and the Crash of Character (pp. 108)

Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and the Waste of Life (pp. 105).

Shakespeare's *King Lear* and Indian Politics (pp. 115).

Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and the Ruin of Souls (pp. 126) by William Miller, C.I.E., D.D., L.L.D., Principal of the Madras Christian College and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras. Published by Natesan & Co., Madras—8 annas.

fate to be endured as heroically as man may is not—"Vouloir ce que Dieu vent est la seule science Qui Nons met en repos."

The mocking worldly dissuasives from suicide Shakespeare puts into the mouth of his prince of villains, Iago. "Drown thyself? Drown cats and blind puppies! 'Put money in thy purse! If thou wilt needs damn thyself, do it a more delicate way than drowning. Make all the money thou canst. A pox of drowning thyself! Seek thou rather to be hanged in compassing thy joy than to be drowned and go without her."

Take again Shakespeare's treatment of the question of unprepared death. It is the finer Christian character Othello who even in his own avenging rage of murder is so anxious that Desdemona should pray before he kills her—it is a contrast to Hamlet who would fain kill the soul as well.—

Othello. Have you prayed to-night, Desdemona?

Desdemona. Ay, my Lord,

Othello. If you bethink yourself of any crime

Unreconciled as yet to Heaven and grace,

Solicit for it straight.....

Well, do it and be brief: I will walk by,

I would not kill thy unprepared spirit;

No, Heaven forbid, "I would not kill thy soul."

Yet this is the Othello who would fain have had his wife's betrayer "nine years a-killing." Turn we to Hamlet.

Hamlet. "Now might I do it pat, now he is praying.

And now I'll do't—and so he goes to Heaven:

And so am I revenged. That would be scanned:

A villain kills my father; and for that

I his sole son, do this same villain send

To Heaven.

Why this is hire and salary, not revenge—

He took my father grossly, full of bread,

With all his climes broad blown, as flush as May:

And how his audit stands who knows save Heaven?

And am I then reveng'd

To take him in the purging of his soul,

When he is fit and seasoned for his passage?"

This prostitution of faith to the purposes of revenge gives one a shudder.

The object of Dr. Miller's little monographs is not so much to point out the Christian doctrine to be found in Shakespeare, though ethics and doctrine are inseparable in all religions, as to draw practical lessons on a Christian basis for the conduct of life. King Lear and Othello afford him opportunity for special teaching to his Indian students on the difficult problems raised in life by a time of political changes such as prevailed in Britain in Lear's legendary days and such as prevailed in India

during the last 100 years—and on the effect on a simple character of one race from its environment by another, such for instance as Othello in the midst of the cultured Venetians. "We become sensible of how the greater intimacy with all around him which results from his married life has made Othello feel that the ways of Venetians are not his ways, nor their thoughts his thoughts. He is puzzled and alarmed. Here there is an opening for the evil force. Conscious of inability not only to deal with but even to comprehend the play of the thoughts and feelings which encompass him, Othello is far more liable to be seized on by suspicion than he would be amidst familiar surroundings. Examples may easily be found of the readiness with which suspicion is stirred up in those suddenly brought within the inner circle of a civilization different from their own; and perhaps examples also of how often those who are thus situated make shipwreck of characters which would have held together fairly well if they had never been transplanted from their original environment." Instances of this are abundant both among Englishmen in India and the Indian in England, and must often present themselves to one who like Dr. Miller is daily dealing with young India torn between two civilisations and many religions.

We cannot drop the subject without taking up the cudgels for Desdemona. Dr. Miller's religious school predicates freewill; he will not have it that Desdemona can have suffered entirely guiltless. While owning her the model wife, he censures her dealing with her father; and animadvertes on her folly in lying about the handkerchief, and on her fatuously misleading exclamation when, on the eve of her own death, she exclaims at Othello's announcement of Cassio's death. "Alas, he is betrayed and I undone." One might point out that Desdemona would not have been the young ignorant and guileless victim had she had the common-sense of a full grown woman, nor have been the model wife "tender, affectionate, domestic, full of sympathy and insight, and most delicately sensitive" that she was, had she not have risked all for Othello "and the world well lost." One might even say that the play taught rather the grim grasp of heredity, the strength of original sin—Brabantio is the passionate father and he naturally has a passionate daughter. One might expect a run away match of the daughter of a father of whom Shakespeare writes:

"Her match was mortal to him, and pure grief
Shore his old thread in twain; did he live now
This sight would make him do a desperate turn
Yea curse his better angel from his side. And fall
to rebrobation."

Moreover to blame Othello for his lack of ability to see

through Iago's flimsy plot, is to miss his blunt soldierlike character. The combination of courage with insight into character is more easily found in an Iago than an Othello, just as common-sense and tact when dealing with an injured husband are rather attributes of an Emilia or indeed a Bianca than a Desdemona. "On a les défauts de ses qualités." The soldier who could fight as Othello fought, and love as Othello loved, must necessarily burn with revenge as he burned when once he found the objects of his trust and love—his wife and his Lieutenant—unworthy;—and unless endowed with a rare supernatural grace must carry out his revenge in some such sort as Othello did. Dr. Miller asks the question "what principle in the government of the world do the scenes from human life which 'Othello' presents illustrate most forcibly? What lesson may be learnt from it which may help a man to guide his own life well?" Weaknesses allied to their virtues are of course to be found even in such loveable characters as Othello and Desdemona; but instead of concluding that "*when* men are overtaken by either material or moral ruin they have always same share in causing it," one prefers rather to think that the "principle" illustrated by these scenes from human life is what Browning adduces as his reason for believing in Christianity.

"'Tis the faith that launched point blank her dart

At the head of lie—taught original sin,

The corruption of man's heart."

And that the "lesson" to be learnt from the ruin of such fair and noble lives is the old one "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

MARGARET M. TRAILL LAMONT.

ART. VII.—INDIAN ART IN THE FAR EAST.

THE THEORY OF A COMMON ASIATIC SCHOOL.

THE striking similarity of cult and culture in India and in the Far East, as evident in art, has led a recent writer to say that "the reason of this is probably to be sought in the existence of a common early Asiatic art, which has left its uttermost ripplemarks alike on the shores of Hellas, the extreme west of Ireland, Etruria, Phœnicia, Egypt, India and China. In such a theory, a fitting truce is called to all degrading disputes about priority, and Greece falls into her proper place, as but a province of that ancient Asia to which scholars have long been looking as the Asgard background of the great Norse sagas. At the same time, a new world is opened to future scholarship, in which a more synthetic method and outlook may correct many of the errors of the past.*"

This new theory must stand the scrutiny of experts before it can be accepted. And inasmuch as it controverts almost all existing theories adumbrated or advanced after years of careful study by experts, the student should be careful how he accepts it at once to secure, what may seem to be, a short cut to the solution of what, at first sight, may be taken to be one of the most puzzling problems of history. The mere fact that during a very early period (the age of Asoka—B. C. 250) the Persians were, for purposes of art, practically the same people as the Indians† should not be enough to make us conjecture the existence of a common early Asiatic school.

Moreover this striking similarity does not really seem to be one of those strange problems of history which would justify the student to stretch his imagination for an explanation, because materials are wanting.

Buddhism was a potent factor in the development of Indian art. It carried the developed art from one end of India to the other. And it was in the wake of Buddhism that Indian art reached the Far East, where, often grafted on indigenous arts, it has achieved wonders and endured to our own day. We hold with Mr. Okakura that "the great historic spectacle with which the world is necessarily familiar, of Buddhism pouring into China across the passes of the Himalayas, and by the sea-route through the Straits—that movement which probably commenced under Asoka and became tangible in China itself at the time of Nāgārjuna in the second century A. D.—was no

* Okakura—*Ideals of the East*, Introduction by Sister Nivedita.

† Fergusson—*Archæology in India*.

isolated event." Therefore an attempt to seek the solution of this striking similarity in Buddhism—the common cult—may not prove unprofitable. And we proceed to consider the rise, the progress and the influence of Buddhism,

THE RISE, THE PROGRESS AND THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM.

Buddhism grew out of Brāhmanism ; and its growth was inevitable. " Christianity founded its kingdom in times of the keenest suffering, amid the death-struggles of a collapsing world. India lived in more settled peace ; if the government of its small states was the evil despotism of the Oriental, men knew of no other government and made no complaint ; was the gulf between poverty and wealth, between knight and yeoman, a wide one—and it has always been so in that land by natural necessity—still it was by no means the poor and oppressed alone, or even chiefly, who sought in monastic robes freedom from the burdens of the world."

" Voices are raised full 'of bitter lamentations over the degeneracy of the age, the insatiable greed of men, which knows no limit, until death comes and makes rich and poor alike : ' I behold the rich in this world,' says a Buddhist Sutra, * ' of the goods which they have acquired, in their folly they give nothing to others ; they eagerly heap riches together and farther and still farther they go in their pursuit of enjoyment. The king, although he may have conquered the kingdoms of the earth, although he may be ruler of all land this side the sea, up to the ocean's shore, would still insatiate, covet that which is beyond the sea. The king and many other men, with desires unsatisfied, fall a prey to death ; Neither relatives nor friends, nor acquaintances, save the dying man ; the heirs take his property ; but he receives the reward of his deeds ; no treasures accompany him who dies, nor wife, nor child, nor property nor kingdom.' And in another Sutra it is said † ' the princes, who rule kingdoms, rich in treasures and wealth, turn their greed against one another, pandering insatiably to their desires. If these act thus restlessly, swimming in the stream of impermanence, carried along by greed and carnal desire, who then can walk on earth in peace.' "‡

The Oriental sets more value on the hereafter than on the here. A desire for material prosperity is a snare, and life on earth a punishment for past sins. He yearns after freedom from future births—dreaming morbid and proud dreams of that which is beyond all time. This corruption and this cry filled

* Ratthapāṇa—Suttanta in the " Majjhima-Nikāya."

† " Samyuttaka-Nikāya."

‡ Oldenberg—*Buddha*.

the sensitive Oriental mind of Buddha with sorrow. And the germs of those thoughts entered his soul which drove him to change home for exile, and the plenty of his palaces for the poverty of the mendicant.

It is beyond the scope of the present paper to discuss how, within a very short time, Buddhism—like the great luminary of the day in the summer of the world—grew great and glorious. Numerous causes contributed to the phenomenal success of the religion which pulsated with that passion of pity which lifted the dumb beast to one level with man. And prominent among them was the personal example of the Perfect One who went forth from home into homelessness, and renounced the world—not for his own salvation, but for the salvation of others. “In the days when his reputation stood at its highest point, and his name was named throughout India among the foremost names, one might day by day see that man before whom kings bowed themselves, walking about, alms-bowl in hand, through streets and alleys, from house to house, and without uttering any request, with downcast look, stand silently waiting until a morsel of food was thrown into his bowl.”*

But if there was one thing which more than others helped to make the religion popular it was the homeless, wandering life of Buddha and his disciples. “In nothing did the secret of the great power of rapid increase, which existed in the young Church, so much lie as in its itinerancy: here anon, there anon, appearing, vanishing, simultaneously at a thousand places.”† “Go yet out, O disciples,” said Buddha to his followers, “and travel from place to place for the welfare of many people, for the joy of many people, in pity for the world, for the blessing, welfare, and joy of gods and men.”

No special importance was attached to the dialect in which the “doctrine of deliverance” was preached. Buddha’s words were confined to no language “I direct, O disciples,” tradition ‡ makes him say, “that each individual learn the words of Buddha in his own tongue.” And strange were the Missionary efforts of the Church at a time when to the popular mind the idea of non-Indian lands had “hardly a more concrete signification than the conception of those other worlds, which, scattered through infinite space, combine with other suns, other moons and other hells to form other universes.”

TO THE FAR EAST.

Communication with the Far East was established very early. “Besides the sea-route from the Bengal coast by Ceylon to the

* Oldenberg—*Buddha*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Cullavagga, quoted by Oldenberg.

mouth of the Yang-tse-Kiang, there were two great landways, which both began at Tonko in China, at the mouth of the Gobi Desert, dividing before reaching the Oxus, into the Northern and Southern passes of Teusan, and so on to the Indus.*" Another through Tibet, conquered by Taiso, added a fourth line of communication to the routes by Teusan and sea.† Northern Buddhism has justly been said to resemble a "great mountain ravine through which India pours her intellectual torrents upon the world." And "the contention that in Kashmir was made the most authoritative deposit of the doctrine, though it may or may not be true in the sense intended, has an inevitable accuracy of its own, deeper than the words imply."‡

During a long period of uninterrupted communication the process actually at work was "not the Buddhising, but the *Indianising* of the Mongolian mind."

INDIAN INFLUENCE.

How much Tibet owes to India cannot be ascertained till the search-light of modern civilisation penetrates into the Forbidden Land, which is still enveloped in a mist of mystery which keep it outside the pale of modern civilisation and impermeable to its influence. The cursory notes of frightened foreigners, who can seldom cross beyond the boundary line, cannot be taken to be sufficient data for an enquiry of this kind. But we know how not only Buddhism, but Hinduism also influenced the religion of Tibet. Like the interior of the Buddhist caves in India, the interior of the temples in Tibet is decorated with paintings of episodes in the life of the Buddhas as well as with representations of gods with dreadful countenances. The late Mr. Brian H. Hodgson says "that the walls of sacred edifices in Tibet are literally covered with pictures."

That the seeds of Indian art were scattered far and wide, will be evident from its influence on the art of the neighbouring countries. Speaking of the rock-cut caves of Bāmjan, situated in a valley on the chief road between Kābul and Turkestan, Maitland of the Afghan Boundary Commission says: "The whole interior of the niches, and particularly the arches over the heads of the idols, have been painted with what appears to be allegorical designs."§ But Buddhism was the chief factor in carrying the influence. It took the art to Ceylon, where it left traces on the famous temple Dalada Maligāwa. Fragments of

* Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

† Even to-day the zealously guarded gates of Tibet are not closed to the *bona fide* sanyāsin from India.

‡ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

§ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xviii.

Buddhist pictures have been discovered in a cave in the fortress of Sigiri. In these pictures, as in the Ajantâ work, is to be marked a preponderance of green.

The origin of these caves in Ceylon is yet another example of Indian influence travelling beyond India in the wake of Buddhism. Every year Buddha for three months 'kept vassa' (spent the rainy season) "surrounded by groups of his disciples, who flocked together to pass the rainy season near their teacher. Kings and wealthy men contended for the honour of entertaining him and his disciples, who were with him, as guests during the season in the hospices and gardens which they had provided for the community."* Thus in the Buddhist records we read of the pleasure-garden Bê-nubana which the king Bimbisâra offered "to the fraternity of bhikshus with the Buddha at their head," and of the Jêtabana a gift to Buddha and the Church by Buddha's most liberal admirer, the great merchant Anathapindika—who bought it for a fabulous price.

"During the three months of the rainy season in which itinerating ceased, the monks were expressly forbidden to resort to a place of rest in the open, at the foot of a tree"† Thus the tradition of the Singhalese represents Mahinda,‡ the converter of the island, and his spiritual companions, before the rainy season sets in, dwelling near the capital in the park, which the king had placed at their disposal, 'with good view and rich in shades adorned with flowers and fruit, truly lovely . . . there is a beautiful lotus pool, covered with lotuses, white and blue; there is fresh water in beautiful springs, scented by sweet flowers.' But when the rainy season comes round, when in India damp weather sets in—in Ceylon itself these are the finest months of the whole year.§ Mohinda leaves the park and goes with the other monks to the mountain of Missaka, there to provide himself accommodation in the holes of the rocks. The king hears of this and hastens out: 'Why hast thou left me and mine and come to this mountain?' And Mahinda replies: 'Here we wish to pass the rainy season, three months long. Near a village or in the forest, or in a dwelling place, the door of which can be shut, has Buddha commanded the monks to dwell, when the rainy season come.' Then the king gives an order for eight and sixty cells to be hollowed out in the rock for the

* Oldenberg—*Buddha*.

† The reason is apparent—the rainy-season being very unhealthy in India.

‡ Mahindra son of Asoka.

§ See Rhys David's *Buddhism* in the series of Non-Christian Religious Systems.

monks—cells such as throughout the whole of India and Ceylon, lying often several stories one over the other, still mark indelibly to-day the old rallying points and centres of monastic life.*

In India these cave-temples are numerous. And this tradition about the origin of the cave-temples of Ceylon shows the conservative tendency of the oriental mind, which loves to follow with unnecessary accuracy even obsolete customs—simply because they happen to be connected with the name or the work of some of the numerous religious teachers or reformers—whose apotheosis again is not at all uncommon in India.

But it is needless to say that the influence of Indian art is more palpable on the art work of the East.

"The Jelâlâbâd caves were very thickly coated (with plaster), and the surface painted with figures and ornament."†

In Sikkim a monastery "consists of a *gompa* or chapel round which are situated houses where the priests and monks live. At Tasiding there are two principal *gompas*, having overshadowing umbrella-shaped roofs: hatched with split bamboos and casting in sunlight very long shadows over the walls, which are of rough stone, the upper half being painted red. The windows are large, and the doorways are larger still, and all are of wood. The interiors, somewhat dark, have two stories, the beams and wooden pillars of which are well painted, and the walls covered with highly-coloured frescoes."‡ The frescoes on the walls of a chapel "are illustrations of the punishments in a future state, some of which would be suitable for illustrations of Dante's *Inferno*." The colouring is rich and good and the designs are spirited. "But the execution ** though in many respects giving signs of masterly cleverness, is so utterly deficient in ideality, and in many of the elements which constitute art as *we* understand it, that the ultimate effect would be thought, perhaps, by many to be grotesque and bizarre. This is, indeed, almost inevitable if the spectator sees the figures near; but they were manifestly meant to be seen at the distance of a few yards in a dim subdued light, with the window shutters arranged accordingly. When thus regarded, they form a striking study for a painter."§

This is exactly what can be said of the Ajantâ work in which little attention is paid "to the science of art" as *we* understand it. "One of the students, when hoisted up on the scaffolding, tracing his first panel on the ceiling, naturally re-

* Oldenberg—*Buddha*.

† Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVIII.

‡ Temple—*Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*.

§ *Ibid*.

marked that some of the work looked like a child's work; little thinking that what appeared to him up there as rough and meaningless, had been laid in by a cunning hand, so that when seen at its right distance, every touch "fell into its proper place."*

Waddell thus describes a "typical temple" in Tibet—"The temple interior is divided by colonnades into a nave and aisles, and the name is terminated by the altar. * * * The whole of the interior, in whichever direction the eye turns, is a mass of rich colour, the walls to right and left being decorated by frescoes of deities, saints, and demons, mostly of life-size, but in no regular order; and the beams are mostly painted red, fixed out with lotus rosettes and other emblems. The brightest of colours are used, but the general effect is softened in the deep gloom of the temple, which is dimly lit only by the entrance door."† This is rude imitation of the work found in Ajantâ.

The walls of the Lhâsâ Cathedral "are covered with rough pictures out of the biography of the founder of the religion."‡ Frescoes are mostly confined to the mural decoration of temples. The colours are very brilliant and violently contrasted, owing to the free use of crude garish pigments "imported from China or India."

The Tibetan pictures are "mostly paintings, seldom uncoloured drawings, and many of them are of considerable artistic merit. * * The costumes are usually Tibetan, when not Indian. The eye of the Buddhas and the more benign Bodhisats is given a dreamy look by representing the upper eyelid as dented at its centre like a cupid's bow, but I have noticed this same peculiarity in mediæval Indian Buddhist sculptures."§

The very same method was employed in the wall-paintings of Ajantâ in India, and Horinji in Japan—the early Asiatic method of "covering the ground with white lime and laying upon this the rock pigments, which were accentuated and marked off from each other with strong black lines. Thus Confucius says 'all painting is in the sequence of white.' "||

CHINA.

Fergusson has shown that Nepal, in its architecture, presents us with a microcosm of India as it was in the seventh century, when Hwen-Thsang visited it; and that the Sikkim

* Temple—*Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal.* .

† *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III.

‡ Waddell—*The Buddhism of Tibet.*

§ *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid.*

monasteries show a perseverance in the employment of sloping jambs as used two thousand years ago in the Behar and early western caves; and the porch of the temple at Pemiong-chi shows the form of roof which we are familiar with in the rock examples of India.* And we now proceed to consider the architecture and other arts of China.

We have already referred to the communication between India and China. And it is needless to add that missionaries, travellers, pilgrims and traders carried the cult and culture of India to the Celestial Empire. In China Confucianism provided the soil on which the seed of Buddhism afterwards fell. "It is, of course, possible that the missionaries of Asoka reached the Celestial Empire in the reign of the first Shin tyrant. But if so, they left little trace. The historical records which we can authenticate being about the year 59 A. D., when an ambassador of the Gettaes, then probably under Kanishka, gave to the Chinese scholar Saian, certain transactions of a Buddhist scripture. In 64 A. D., Meitei, a Haug Emperor, dreamt of a huge golden god, and on waking asked his courtiers for the meaning of his dream. It was this Saian, now a scholar of great repute, who proved able to explain about the Buddhism of the West, and he was sent next year, with eighteen followers, to the Gettaes, returning in 67 A. D., with Buddhist images and two monks, Matanga and Horan, claiming to be from Central India."†

An embassy is recorded to have come from India by way of Cochin China in 159 A. D. The name of Nāgārjuna is well known in China and Japan. "He followed in the wake of previous teachers, known as Asvaghosha and Vasumitra, the latter of whom had acted as president of Hanishka's council."‡

Communication with India became more facilitated by the extension of the Empire on the Pamirs, and the number of pilgrims to India, as well as the influx of Indians into China grew greater every day. "There were at one time, at Loyang itself to impress their national religion and art on Chinese soil, more than three thousand Indian monks and ten thousand Indian families; their great influence may be judged from their having given phonetic values to the Chinese idiographs, a movement which, in the eighth century, resulted in the creation of the present Japanese alphabet."§

This continued for a pretty long time "Zeu, from the word *Dhyān*, meaning meditation in supreme repose, was introduced

* Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

† *Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

‡ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

§ *Ibid.*

into China through Boohi Dharma, an Indian prince who reached that country as a monk in A. D. 520.* "Genshō (Hionen-Tsang) and Gijo (Iching), though noted for their records, are only two out of innumerable instances of the intercourse between the countries."†

Fergusson in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, justly deplored the scarcity of materials about China. But he has collected enough for the student to hazard an opinion.

The architecture of the country is a faithful index of its civilization, "which seems to have been stationary from the earliest times."

"The coast (of China) has excellent harbours, which must have assisted the intercourse with India and Assyria, &c., and the consequent influence of their architectural forms. The Chinese pagoda was a direct imitation of an Indian prototype, or may have been derived from the pyramidal many storied buildings found in lower Chaldaea."‡ This will become more clear, when we remember that the shapes of the Chinese dolmens are significant in their relation to the original *stupa*, and suggestive as the prototype of the "lingam."

"Chinese palaces were changed at once into Buddhist temples in an impulse of renunciation (during the Asoka period) only such alterations being made as would meet the new needs. The stupa, through its evolution of the tee, had, as early as the time of Kanishka, attained several stories, and when translated into Chinese forms, under the conditions of wooden architecture, became the wooden pagoda, as known to this day in Japan."§

"Wooden pagodas, built in the beginning of the sixth century, * * * seem more and more to have followed the Indian method of ornamentation, for regarding them we read of the great vase at the top, in striking reminder of the description by Goushe (Hionen-Tsang) of the ornaments of the Buddha Gaya Stupa, built in the same century by Amara Singh,|| one of the so-called 'Nine Gems of Learning' of the court of Vikramāditya."¶

Any person familiar with the rock-cut examples in India will easily recognise in the temple at Honan all the features he is accustomed to in the earlier Chaityas and Vihāras, though strangely altered by their Chinese disguise. The figure which stood in front of the dagoba is moved forward and placed on an altar by itself, with two companions added, in

* Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Fletcher and Fletcher—*A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*.

§ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

|| About 500 A. D.—See Cunningham—*Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. I.

¶ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

accordance with modern Chinese theology ; but the general arrangements remain the same. * * * As early as the eleventh century the Buddhist Chaitya in India, standing in the centre of its Vihâra, had already been sublimated into an idol temple, surrounded by a series of idol niches, since there cannot be a doubt that the Jaina temple of Vimala Sah is a reproduction for another purpose of an old Buddhist monastery. The curious point is, that the eighteenth century temple of Honan reproduces, for their original purpose, forms, which in India had, seven centuries earlier, passed away to another faith, and become wholly conventional. It is still more strange that, if we leap over the intermediate period, and go seven centuries further back we shall find in India the same ceremonies performed in the same form of temples as those at which any one may assist in China at the present day.

"At Pekin there are several Lama series or Buddhist monasteries, of a much more monumental character than that at Honan, but it is very difficult indeed to guess at their arrangement from mere verbal descriptions without dimensions. The gateway of one * * * gives a fair idea of the usual mode of constructing gateways in China.

"It has three openings of pleasing proportions, and is as well designed as any to be found in China. Behind it is to be seen the dagoba, to which it leads: a tall form, with a reverse slope, and an exaggerated tee, so altered from those we are accustomed to in the earlier days of Indian architecture, that it requires some familiarity with the intermediate forms in Nepal and Burmah to feel sure that it is the direct lineal descendant of the topes at Sânci or Manikgala." *

"In the rear of the Great Wall, in the Nankin Pass, there is an archway of architectural pretensions, and which is interesting as having a well-ascertained date, A. D. 1345. Its dimensions are considerable and it is erected in a bold style of masonry. The upper part is a true arch, though it was thought necessary to disguise this by converting its form into that of a semi-octagon, or three-sided arch. On the key-stone is a figure of Garuda, and on either side of him a Nâga figure, with a seven-headed snake hood, and beyond that a class of flowing tracery we are very familiar with in India about the period of its erection. Its similarity to the Nepalese gateway at Bhâtgâon has already been remarked upon † and altogether it is interesting as exemplifying a class of Indian ornamentation that came into China from the north. If we had a few specimens of art penetrating from the south, we might find out the secret of the history of Buddhist art in China." ‡

* Fergusson.—*Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

† *Ibid* p. 305.

‡ *Ibid*.

"Tombs, in consequence of the great reverence for the dead, are finished with care, and have respect paid to them. They are either conical, mounds cut in the rock or structural. Those of the Ming Dynasty (A. D. 1368—1644), to the north of Pekin, are entered through triumphal gateways of white marble and an avenue, a mile in length of colossal monolithic figures, thirty-two in number, and twelve feet in height, representing camels, horses, priests, elephants, lions, griffins, &c. Each of the thirteen tombs consists of an earthen mound, half-a-mile in circumference, and supported by a retaining wall twenty feet high, and seem founded on such monuments as the Sanchi Tope in India."*

In ancient India "sculpture in stone" * * was certainly employed lavishly, not indeed in the Chaitya halls, but on their façades and in the Vihâras. The oldest Vihâra at Bhâjâ is covered with sculptures, and so is the façade of the Ananta Cave, which is apparently the oldest cave at Katak—probably 200 B. C., but there is no reason for supposing that even they are the oldest. The art may have been practised long before then, though probably on wood.† Very early too images had become connected with Buddhism. And early Buddhist missionaries from India took with them these images to China.

"The stone Buddhas of the Tin Tâl in Ellora, though deprived of the plaster mouldings with which they were originally covered, are beautiful, with a self-contained grandeur and harmony of proportion. In them we find the sources of inspiration of the Tâng and Nara sculptures."‡

Mr. Griffiths has remarked that there is "a Chinese turn in the Ajantâ paintings—in the drawing of the human eye and sometimes of the whole figure and in many ornamental details,"§ Mr. Fergusson too says that "the style * * * is not European, but more resembles Chinese art, particularly in the flatness and want of shadow." But he adds, "I never, however, in China saw anything approaching its perfection."

"In a previous paper we have tried to show that Mr. Griffiths' search after the source of inspiration in China cannot but end in failure; and the marvellous unity of style presented by Buddhist pictures of Tibet, Nepal, China, Japan, Burmah and

* Thanks to the endeavours of Cunningham, the date of the Sanchi tope is now well ascertained—

"The Toran gateways were set up in the first century A. D., say 80 A. D.

"The stone railings round the Stupa by Asoka about 250 A.D.

"The Great Stupa sometime before Asoka, perhaps as early as 500 B. C."

See *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. I. p. xxiii, the *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 270, and Introductory note to General F. C. Maisey's *Sanchi and its remains*.

† Fergusson—*Archæology in India*.

‡ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

§ The *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantâ*.

Java can be very easily explained by the historical fact of the Buddhist art of India travelling beyond the mother-country in the wake of Buddhism."*

"It is clear that wherever Buddhism prevailed the art of painting flourished, and early records and traditions show that it was systematically studied and practised."† And the Indian origin of the Buddhist art of China and Japan is apparent.

Tā-Hian has said that he remained at Tāmralipti for two years "writing out copies of the sacred books (*Sūtras*) and drawing image pictures."‡

We have already referred to the communication between India and China, and described how Indian cult and Indian culture took root in the soil of the Celestial Empire. There is very strong reason to believe that the school represented by the great artist of the Tāng dynasty claims an antiquity of many centuries, "tracing its origin to India." The Buddhist art of India, as seen in the wall paintings of Ajantā and in the sculptures of Ellora Caves "thanks to innumerable travellers, gave its inspiration to the Tāng art of China."§

"There are many indications of the Indian origin of Chinese Buddhist art, amongst the chief of which are the almost invariable absence of Mongolian traits in the physiognomical characters given by the Chinese to the various divinities of the Buddhist pantheon, and the practical identity in point of dress, attitude and attributes, between Indian representations of certain of the divine personages, and the corresponding images produced in China and Japan. Again in the colouring of Chinese Buddhistic paintings the selection and arrangement of pigment, while very unlike the practice of the older secular school of China, often produce chromatic effects that strongly recall those of Indian work."||

The impermanency of the materials of the painter's art has unfortunately deprived us of the precious and suggestive relics which have taught so much concerning the archæology of Oriental sculpture and architecture, but there is no doubt that religious pictures were made in India before the adoption of the faith of Gautama in China. This being the case, the process of naturalization of Buddhist pictorial art upon Chinese soil may be readily conjectured. It is on record that the momentous Indian Buddhistic Embassy of the Emperor Ming Ti, in the first century of the Christian era (65 A. D.) resulted in the importation

* *Paintings in Ancient and Medieval India* in the "Calcutta Review," July 1903.

† Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantā*.

‡ Beal—*Buddhist Records of the Western World*.

§ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

|| Anderson—*Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*.

not only of Sûtra, but of drawings and images; and these were, in all probability, constantly augmented by the Indian Missionaries drawn into China in the cause of the great religion during the subsequent five or six hundred years, as well as by the collection of Fâ-Hien, whose travels in India (899—414 A.D.) led the way in local research for the expedition of Hionen-Thsang two centuries later (A.D. 629—645). The works so acquired were the types upon which the Chinese artists founded the pictorial and other images demanded for the supply of the innumerable temples that rapidly multiplied over the face of their country.*

Thus did Indian art leave an undying influence on the art of China, where its success was something wonderful †

* Anderson—*Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum.*

† There are some illuminated manuscripts of the Moghul period in the Khodabux Library at Bankipore. And it is interesting to know—and I have the authority of Mr. Macfarlane of the Imperial Library—that the illuminations in some of these manuscripts were actually done by Chinese artists. This proves the residence of some Chinese artists in India as late as the Moghul period. But long before this time had the Indian style influenced the styles of almost all countries in Asia, and had, owing to its decay in India, come to be generally known as the Chinese style.

I am indebted to Bâbu Jadu Nâth Sircâr, M.A., of the Patna College, for the following interesting note on some of these manuscripts:—

In most cases the names of the artists are unknown, but in some of the pictures the influence of the Chinese School of painting is unmistakable. Indeed a few of them, though undoubtedly old, look like copies of modern Japanese painted fans or screens. I note the chief points of the following books:—

(1) "The *Byazo*" (or collection) of Muhamed Husain Kashmiri (of Jahangir's time) 1010 A. H., contains less than six illustrations. The trees stand on a back-ground formed by a golden hill, of which the upper contour is drawn but not the separate cliffs, peaks and fissures. It looks as if a gold foil with a jagged or undulating upper margin had been pasted on the sheet and the trees drawn on it. The flowers (mostly white, a few pink) look like encrustations of colour on the branches. Most of the flowers stand detached and not in bunches. Faces of men, of the old conventional type, absolutely expressionless, almost like eggs.

(2) "Masuavi of Sherin and Khusran" by Hatafi, copied by order of Ibrahim Adil Shah (probably the 2nd of the name, died in 1628 ætatis 56). The same golden hill background, trees with scanty leaves and white or pink flowers encrusted in paint. One of the pictures is a very beautiful hunting scene—hunters on horseback, armed with swords, spears, bows, and daggers, slaying bears, lions and antelopes. Perspective wanting. But faces not distinctly Chinese. Landscape—of the old conventional style.

(3) A nameless History of the Mughal Sovereigns down to the 22nd year of Akbar's reign contains Shah Jahan's autograph on the fly-leaf. Many illuminations (full page) under each of which are given the names of the artist whose work (*amd*) it is of the artist whose method or style (*tarz*) has been followed. Names of some of these artists:—

JAPAN.

From China we turn to Japan. And here we are fortunate in having reliable records and careful critical works. For Japan has opened the gates to the tide of modern civilisation, and made herself civilised in the strictly modern sense of the word. Her example is unique in the East, and her success marvellous. She has accomplished the impossible.

Nand (नन्द) of Gwalior, Sarjan (सर्जन), the younger बनওয়ারी ; names of some of the masters :—Farkhi (Farrûkhi!), the elder Tulsî, &c. Characteristics—no perspective; buildings conventional; leaves stand distinctly, never forming a confused mass nor fading into the background; rocks coloured and a slight attempt to represent the fissures and outlines of rocks overlapping each other; foliage green and abundant.

(4) Shah Jahan-namah, said to have been copied in the eleventh century A. H. (about 1593-1690 A. D.): A series of historical pictures of the most elaborate workmanship; attention to the minutest detail, and dazzling brilliancy. (a) Eyes, necks, and faces beautifully shaded to represent depressions; (b) Faces distinctly Indian. Individuality mostly preserved and not "as like each other as eggs." The identity of Jahangir's (and also Shah Jahan's) features preserved throughout the series of more than a dozen pieces; (c) Well drawn deep blue sky fading towards the earth into white, with a few dim clouds (or cloud-like paint?); (d) Trees not well done. The leaves distinct even when standing in clusters; (e) Houses conventional, *i.e.*, angles seem unnatural; (f) Fine picture of the marriage of princes (Aurangzib and Murad?) Night piece; black sky, fireworks going off; fire in gold lightly touched with red; (g) Endless variety (and no repetition) in the dresses of the many courtiers; dress materials also various. Every pearl can be counted in the score of pearl necklaces worn by the Emperor, &c.; (h) Perspective recognised by the artist, though still in its rudimentary stage; (i) Trees too distinct and detailed in their parts, even in the distant background; (j) A most charming picture of the funeral procession of Shah Jahan—his jewelled turban on the coffin borne on men's shoulders. The Taj whitely gleaming in the distance. This last touch is too good to be purely Indian. I strongly suspect that all these pictures were drawn when European art had already appeared in India, and under its influence, but by native artists. In Southern India native artists might have come in contact with European works of art as early as 1700 A. D., or even earlier in the case of the courtiers of the Bijapur, Gujrat and Ahmadnagar Sultans, who were great purchasers of European goods and often received presents from European traders and travellers.

Contrast the above Indian illuminations with the following executed in Central and Western Asia :—

(5) Masuavi of Khasran, copied (and probably illumined) by Mir Ali for Sultan Abdul Aziz (of Bukhara—) in Bukhara. Faces Chinese or Mongolian; trees against golden hill background; long black eye-brows drawn in single lines as if the men painted their eye-brows (the exact copy of the faces of Chinese boys and well-to-do men seen at Calcutta); chub-nose; no *moustache* or beard (though Muhammadans!); full profile and well-developed lower face, (*i.e.*, cheeks and chin) in all figures (unmistakable Chinese style).

(6) *Majmua* (collection) copied by Mir Ali (of Bukhara)—(a) Background surprisingly natural; rocks and trees not at all conventional. There are two coloured portraits at the end—a man and a woman

"A nation secluded from the world, bound with the iron fetters of a rigid feudalism, distracted by internal anarchy, and consisting for the most part of an ignorant, down-trodden, and unenterprising multitude, has become a strong and consolidated state, ready and able to make its voice heard and respected in the great councils of the world, with a constitutional government successfully tried by over ten years' working experience, a powerful army and navy, and a patriotic, courageous, and determined people, actively sharing in the administrative affairs of the empire, and displaying a high degree of political enterprise, both domestic and international"* Her history has been written and her art has been studied and criticised. And her history and her art both reveal a vast Indian influence, which reached her with Buddhism.

"Indian influence on Japan is a vast and somewhat obscure subject. * * * In a sense Japan may be said to owe everything to India; for, from India came Buddhism, and Buddhism brought civilisation,—Chinese civilisation; but then China had been far more deeply tinged with the Indian dye than is generally admitted even by the Chinese themselves. The Japanese, while knowing of course full well that Buddhism is Indian, not only habitually underrate the influence of Buddhism in great matters, they have no adequate notion of the way in which smaller details of their lives and thoughts have been moulded by it. They do not realise, for instance, that the elderly man or woman who becomes, as they say, *inkyo*, that is hands over the care of the household to the next generation, and amuses him or her self by going to the theatre or visiting friends,—they do not realise that this cheery and eminently practical old individual is the lineal representative of the deeply religious Brahman householder, who at a certain age, her worldly duties performed,—retired to the solitude of the forest, there to ponder on the vanity of all phenomena, and attain to the absorption of self in the world-soul through profound metaphysical meditation. * * * The 'true name' which is kept a secret, is an Indian heritage. The fire drill for producing the sacred fire at the great Shintō-shrines of Ise and Izumo seems to be Indian; all philological

respectively—one of them exactly like the picture of a Persian princess published in the *Journal of Indian Art* sometime ago—; both of them look like the figures on Japanese screens in several points.

(7) A copy of the *Shahnamah* transcribed by Shah Muhammad in Persia in 908 A. H. Background coloured rock and green trees; no gold hill. In the trees the foliage is in masses and not distinct and separate. The whole space within the outline of the leaves—of one uniform colour. No perspective.

* The *Quarterly Review*. October 1902.

research in the Far East is certainly of Indian origin, even to the arranging of Japanese syllabaries in their familiar order. * Not only can some of the current fairy-tales be traced to stories told in the Buddhist Sutras, but so can some of the legends of the Shintō religion, notwithstanding the claim confidently put forward, and too easily accepted by European writers, to the effect that everything Shintō is purely aboriginal. The very language has been tainted many learned words being of Indian derivation, and even a few common ones. * * * * Indian of course is all Buddhist religious architecture and sculpture; Indian is the use of tea now so characteristic of China and Japan; India has dictated the national diet, fostering rice-culture and discrediting the use of flesh, which seems to have been a staple article of Japanese food in pre-Buddhist days. * *

"The idea suggested will bear elaboration, the steps of the process being in each case these:—first from India to China, second from China to Korea, third from Korea to Japan; or else from China to Japan direct, but this is less often except in comparatively recent times."†

The Japanese have plenty of fairy-tales, "but the greater number can be traced to a Chinese, and several of these again to a Buddhist, that is to an Indian source."

The combination of the Brahminical and Buddhist doctrines in India influenced the mythology of the latter, which acquired great masses of gods and goddesses "alien to the faith itself." And it is evident in the gods and goddesses still to be found worshipped in the Far East. Thus Fudo is Siva with "the gleaming third eye, the trident sword, and the lasso of snakes."‡ Kālī is represented by Kariteimo. Saraswatī is Benten with the *vivā*, "which quells the waves." Kichijoten is Lakshmi. Taigensui is Kārtekeya the Commander. And Shoden is the elephant-headed Ganesa.

"The Seven Gods of Luck have been swept together from many incongruous sources—Japanese Shintōism, Chinese Taoism, Indian Buddhism and Brahmanism."§ And this reminds one of the folk-story about three travellers meeting in Loyang. "One came from India, one from Japan, and one from the Celestial soil itself. 'But we meet here,' said the last, 'as if to make a face, of which China represents the paper,

* We have already referred to the Indians "having given phonetic values to the Chinese ideographs, a movement which, in the eighth century, resulted in the creation of the present Japanese alphabet."

† Chamberlain—*Things Japanese*.

‡ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

§ Chamberlain—*Things Japanese*.

yon from India the radiating sticks, and our Japanese guest the small but necessary pivot."*

The first Buddhist *period* in Japan begins with the *formal* introduction of Buddhism from Korea in 552. Buddhism had spread to Korea from China. The account of the introduction of Buddhism into Japan to be found in the native history books is that a bronze gilt statue of Buddha, "with hangings and canopies" and some scrolls of the *sūtras* were presented to the Mikado Kimmei by the king of Hyakusai, one of the Korean states in A. D. 552. The Mikado was for accepting the new religion; but the majority of his council, conservative Shintōists proposed that they should reject the image. Only Iname, of Soga proposed that the image should be worshipped "with due rites."

"The emperor decided the matter by entrusting the statue to Iname, in a spirit of tolerance, and it was placed in his villa at Mukobara for a time. But the pestilence and famine which raged in the ensuing year gave a pretext to the enemies of the Sogas, who promptly declared that such disasters came from worshipping alien gods. Thus they got permission to turn its accessories and throw the statue into the neighbouring lake."†

But such dire calamities followed on this act of sacrilege that the temple was soon allowed to be rebuilt. "Buddhist monks and nuns then flocked from Korea in ever-increasing numbers. Shōtoku Taishi, who was prince-regent under the Empress Suiko from A.D. 593 to 621, himself attained almost to the rank of Buddhist saintship, and from that time forward the new religion became established as the chief religion of the land though Shintō was never entirely suppressed. All education was for centuries in Buddhist hands, as was the care of the poor and sick; Buddhism introduced art, introduced medicine, moulded the folklore of the country, created its dramatic poetry, deeply influenced politics and every sphere of social and intellectual activity. In a word, Buddhism was the teacher under whose instruction the Japanese nation grew up. As a nation, they are now grossly forgetful of this fact. Ask an educated Japanese a question about Buddhism, and ten to one he will smile in your face,—a hundred to one that he knows nothing about the subject, and glories in his nescience."‡

It is necessary to remember that long before the *formal* introduction of Buddhism from Korea in 552, and long before its *formal* adoption by the Court of Japan Buddhist monks and images were known in the country. Buddhism first reached China perhaps as early as the time of Asoka. And it is only

* Okakura.—*Ideals of the East*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Chamberlain.—*Things Japanese*.

natural to suppose that six to seven centuries were not required for the influence to reach Japan from China, the fountain-head of its ancient knowledge. We have already referred to the brisk communication between China and India. And it is not difficult to suppose that the wonderful missionary efforts of Buddhism did not stop in China. For instead of there being some insurmountable barrier between China and Japan communication between the two countries was free and flowing.

Before its formal introduction in Japan the cult had been gaining ground daily, in spite of conservative perversity and persecution. We know that the Korean priest, Donjei, and Doshin, arrived in Japan in 554 A.D., Chiso, a Southern Chinese, brought over images and sculptures ten years later, and Wumako, the son of Iname, who succeeded his father as prime-minister, erected Buddhist temples in 584. It is impossible, without supposing that long before the formal introduction Buddhism had been gaining ground in Japan, to imagine that the seed so unwillingly sown in 552 had by 584 grown into a mighty tree that gave shade and shelter to the wearied wayfarers of the Land of the Rising Sun. This formal introduction is nothing more than one of those landmarks of history which are useful in indicating the way the explorer should go. It should help the student in tracing the source of that influence which re-created Japan and not prevent him from proceeding further up.

Shibatatsu, of the Rio dynasty in Southern China, a devout believer, and grandfather of the celebrated sculptor, Tori, who is the most prominent figure in the arts of this period, had migrated to Japan thirty-one years before this formal introduction. And "his daughter became the first nun who worshipped the Buddhist images."*

Of course it is needless to say that with the formal introduction of Buddhism into Japan the prattling brook, which had so long flown through brambles and bushes chattering over stony ways "in little sharps and trebles" broadened into that mighty stream which—even to-day—satisfies the thirst of the seeker after truth in the Far East. What had remained hidden was proclaimed. The esoteric doctrine became exoteric.

"Doshō, a Japanese monk, had become a personal pupil of Gensho (Hionen-Tsang) in Choan, and returned again to Japan in the year 677."† A Brahman monk, named Bodhi, reached Japan just in time to conduct the inaugural ceremony of the "largest statue of east bronze in the whole world."

"The beginnings of Japanese art, as of almost all things Japanese excepting cleanliness can be traced to China through

* Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

† *Ibid*.

Korea. Even after Japanese art had started on its independent career it refreshed its inspiration from time to time by a careful study and imitation of Chinese models; and Chinese masterpieces still occupy in the estimate of Japanese connoisseurs a place only hesitatingly allowed to the best native works. Even Chinese subjects preponderate in the classical schools of Japan. Speaking of the productions of the classical Japanese painters, Dr. Anderson says: 'It may safely be asserted that not one in twenty of the productions of these painters, who to the present day are considered to represent the true genius of Japanese art, was inspired by the works of nature as seen in their own beautiful country.' Whatever Indian, Persian or Greek strain may be detected in Japan came through Korea and China in the wake of Buddhism, and is accordingly far less marked—if marked at all—in genuinely native Japanese paintings and carvings than in those archaic remains which, though often inaccurately spoken of as Japanese, were really the handwork of Korean or Chinese artists or of their immediate pupils."*

Of course the influence of the Hân school reached Japan from China before the influence of the Indian Buddhist art. And when in the Asuka period (550 to 700 A.D.) Buddhism called for a "new and grand" expression the art education of the Japanese was by no means of little consequence. On the other hand because the art education of the Japanese was by no means insignificant—because the soil was ready that the seeds of Indian art germinated so soon. It came from China in the wake of Buddhism.

"The religion and its art once firmly rooted in China, the seeds soon reached the Korean peninsula, and thence, in the sixth century, were conveyed to Japan. * * * With the advent of the elements of belief came the now inseparable images and pictures, mostly of Korean workmanship but including a few genuine remains of India (some of which are still preserved), and upon this basis was established the early Buddhistic school of Japan."†

We have discussed at some length why, we think, Indian Buddhist influence reached Japan long before the formal introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century. Of course the Buddhist school of Japan dates from the sixth century. But it may safely be assumed that with Indian Buddhism Indian art too had reached Japan long before the sixth century. Long before this formal introduction Chinese art (coming often through Korea) had influenced the art of Japan. And even before that

* Chamberlain—*Things Japanese*.

† Anderson—*Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*.

the art of China had been considerably influenced by the art of India.*

It is by overlooking this fact and, perhaps, by assigning to the Hōriūji mural-paintings a date earlier than the date the Japanese themselves would assign that the late Professor Anderson has failed to find any impression of Indian art on these exquisite paintings. But we shall refer to them later on.

It may be interesting to note that in the art of the Far East, the Indian cobra was replaced by the Chinese dragon. And "the identity of the dragon and the serpent is often illustrated in Japanese art."†

"The elephant sometimes seen in Japanese work, is a Buddhist emblem, and is copied from Indian art."‡

The Japanese Buddhist temple comes from India, being a modification of the Indian origin. We have already shown how the Indian *stupa* became the wooden pagoda, as known to this day in Japan.

We have as well referred to the fact that in sculpture the stone Buddhas in the Tin Tāl in Ellora were the sources of inspiration of the "Tang and Nara sculptures." "The art of the Nara period is reflected from that of the early Tang dynasty, and has even a direct connection with its prototype in India, for many Indian artists," says the Japanese writer, "are recorded as having crossed over at this time to our shore."§ The gigantic Roshana of the Riumonsan may here be mentioned. "This statue, similar in type to the Buddhas of Ellora, is more than sixty feet high, and towers in great magnificence against the rocky precipice of the wonderful hill-side of Riumonsan, with a foaming torrent at its foot.||

* "The Chinese style (Kara rin), the fundamental essence of all Japanese art, had a fairly distinct history, dating back to the introduction of Buddhism into China (A. D. 62)"—*The Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXIX.

† Anderson—*Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*.

‡ Andsley and Bowes—*Kemari Art of Japan*. cf. "At Sanchi, and I may add, in all the Indian sculptures I have seen, elephants are exceptionally well carved."—General F. C. Maisey—*Sanchi and its remains*.

"While other animals represented in Hindu art are merely decorative and conventional, or awkward and ill-understood, there is invariably a strong feeling of nature in Hindu elephant sculptures and paintings. The contrast may be noticed in most old temples, but especially in the sculptured gates or tori of the Sanchi tope in Central India, where all kinds of animals are shown, but the elephant alone is carved with complete knowledge, and unvarying truth of action."—Lockwood Kipling—*Beast and Man in India*.

Intapaunting the elephant is seen in the paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples of Ajanta witness, for instance, the fresco in Cave XVII—which represents the coronation of the king who had conquered Ceylon; a group of elephants in the ceiling in front aisle (plate No. 153); wall painting, illustrating the story of the Chhaidanta Elephant (Cave X)—Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples of Ajanta*.

§ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

|| *Ibid*.

In ancient Japan, as probably in ancient India, wood was often used for the expression of the sculptor's art "setting aside pre-historic and rudimentary essays in stone and metal, which have their special interest for the antiquary, we have examples of sculptures in wood and metal, magnificent in conception and technique, dating from the earliest periods of what we may term historic Japan, that is from near the beginning of the great Buddhist propaganda under the Emperor Kimmei (A.D. 540 to 571), and the princely hierarch Shōtoku Taishi (573 to 621)."

"The *first historical period* of glyptic art in Japan reaches from the end of the sixth to the end of the twelfth century, culminating in the work of the great Nara sculptors, Unkei and his pupil Kwaikē. Happily, there are still preserved in the great temples of Japan, chiefly in the ancient capital of Nara, many noble relics of these six hundred years, but only a few of the number need be noticed here. The place of honour in the selection may perhaps be conferred upon sculptures in wood, representing the Indian Buddhists Asangha and Vasabandhu, preserved in the Golden Hall of Kōfukuji, Nara. These are attributed to a Kamakura sculptor of the eighth or ninth century, and in simple and realistic dignity of pose and grand lines of composition are not unworthy of comparison with some of the works of ancient Greece.* * * The wooden portrait of Vimalakirti attributed to Unkei, at Kōfukuji, Nara, has some of the qualities of the images of the two Indian Buddhists."†

The most ancient painting now existing in Japan is a Buddhist mural decoration in the temple of Hōriūji near Nara, believed to date from A.D. 607 and to be the work of a Korean priest. "For more than two centuries longer, art remained chiefly in Korean and Chinese priestly hands."

Referring to these decorations, Professor Anderson wrote in his *Catalogue*—"The connection between India and Japan in Buddhist art is beyond doubt, but there is equal certainty that it was established entirely through the intermediation of China and Korea; for although Indian priests have from time to time settled in Japan, one as early as A.D. 737, there is no evidence of the arrival of any artist from that country, nor are there any specimens of Indian art preserved in Japan that are likely to have made an impression upon the possessors of such gems as the Hōriūji mural paintings and the sculptures of the Two Deva Kings at Kōfukuji."

We have already said that during the Nara period many Indian artists are recorded to have crossed over to Japan. And there is nothing to prove that they did not go earlier.

* W. Anderson in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXIX (New Volumes).

† W. Anderson—in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXIX (New Volumes).

Even taking it for granted, that the native historians of Japan are silent about the advent of artists from India their reticence cannot be taken to import that no Indian artists went to Japan. And, above all, we must remember that the source of Japanese art is to be traced to China, where the fountain-head had been tainted long before the stream reached Japan. We have already shown how early Indian art reached China to influence the art of the Celestial Empire, and how the latter was in fact influenced. And when the beginnings of Japanese art are to be traced to Chinese art—thus influenced by Indian art—it must be admitted that it was not necessary for Indian art to reach Japan through Indian artists. It is beyond doubt that Indian art reached Japan and influenced Japanese art through Chinese art.

Mr. Okakura—himself a Japanese artist and art critic of some distinction—assigns these Hōriūji wall-paintings to the beginning of the eighth century, and says that they show "what the Japanese genius had been able to add, even to the fine workmanship of the wall-paintings of the Ajantā caves."*

It seems that Professor Anderson, though keeping his opinion about the date of the Hōriūji wall-paintings unchanged, afterwards considerably modified his opinion about the influence of Indian art to be found in these paintings. In a later paper† dividing the development of Japanese painting into six periods, "each signalized by a wave of progress"—he thus wrote of the first period (from the middle of the sixth century to the middle of the ninth century: the naturalization of Chinese and Chino-Buddhist art,—“Tradition refers to the advent of a Chinese artist named Naurin, invited to Japan in the fifth century as a painter of the imperial banners, but of the labours and influence of this man and of his descendants we have no record. The real beginnings of the study of painting and sculpture in their higher branches must be dated from the introduction of Buddhism from China in the middle of the sixth century, and for three centuries after this event there is evidence that the practice of the arts was carried on mainly by or under the instruction of Korean and Chinese immigrants. The paintings of which we have any mention were almost limited to representations of Buddhist motives executed in the style of the Chinese masters of the T'ang dynasty‡ [A.D. 618—905(?)], notably Wu Tao-toz' (eighth century), of whose genius romantic stories are related. The oldest existing work of this

* *Ideals of the East*.

† *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXIX (New Volumes).

‡ We have already referred to the school represented by the great artist of the T'ang dynasty claiming an antiquity of many centuries, "tracing its origin to India."

period is a mural decoration in the hall of the temple of Hōriūji, Nara, attributed to a Korean priest named Doucho, who lived in Japan in the sixth century; and this painting, in spite of the destructive effects of time and exposure, shows traces of the same power of line, colour, and composition that stamps the best of the later examples of Buddhist art."

The scheme of colouring distinctive of the Buddhist picture "was almost certainly of Indian origin"—brilliant and decorative, and heightened by a lavish use of gold—essential to the effect of a picture destined for the dim-light of the Buddhist temple.

The activity and the influence of the Buddhist school continued unabated for a very long time. "There are * * * preserved, even in such comparatively recent works as the well-known Kamakura 'Daibutsu' in Japan, which is not much above six hundred years in age, many points of design, especially physiognomy and draping, that offer far more resemblance to the characters of the Græco-Buddhistic sculptures of India, than to those of true Japanese art."*

It is interesting to note that "colour decorations introduced, it is said, from China in the sixth century, is very generally applied to the inside and outside of Japanese temples. The beams, brackets, carvings and flat spaces are picked out in bright colouring and gilding, the colours being blue, green, brown, purple, modder and vermillion. The wall-paintings are generally on a gold ground, and represent animals, birds and flowers. Supporting pillars are usually black, red or gold.

"Among subjects for decoration, birds of bright plumage—as cranes, peacocks, pheasants, ducks—flowers, water-plants, trees, bamboos and lions are the most frequent, combined with weird and grotesque demons derived from earlier Indian sources and resulting in a curious mixture of conventional and realistic forms."†

Coming now to the Ajantā paintings we find the principal colours to have been golden brown, white, various shades of red, dull green and a light ultra-marine blue. "In some places a kind of light pink, and in others a sort of cream colour, appeared to have been produced by mixture of these reds with the white."‡

At Ajantā walls and ceilings are covered with paintings of figure subjects and ornaments full of invention and phantasy. Here, too, we have "flowers which bloom, birds which soar." "In ornament the lotus—blue, white and pink, the mango,

* Anderson—*Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*

† Fletcher and Fletcher—*A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*.

‡ Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples of Ajantā*.

custard apple, pomegranate, gourd and other fruits and flowers, furnish themes for decorative phantasies which always fill their appointed spaces effectively."* Of plants we have the banana, the graceful *asoka*, the *palāsa*, the banian and the *pīpal*. "The delicate foliage which fills in the spaces between the figures will give some idea of the power of these old artists as designers, and also of their knowledge of the growth of plants."†

In the Ajantā work princes and nobles are at once recognised by their characteristic "elongated faces." And an oval of exaggerated length has for centuries been the ideal of beauty in Japan.

We have already said that in the Japanese paintings "lions are most frequent." And here is a fact more salient than the rest. "It is noticeable (in the Ajantā work) that the lion and not the tiger is the favourite wild creature; the latter, indeed, but seldom appears. Sometimes the lion is shown in a jungle-cave of formal design."‡ Thus the influence of Indian art on the art of Japan becomes apparent. And it is to be hoped that in the near future some student of Oriental art will be able to trace the progress of Indian art from the land of Buddha to the Land of the Rising Sun, when many dark points in the history of both countries will become clear and the history of the East complete.

DECAY OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA.

The question may be asked, how it is that the overshadowing influence of the Buddhist art of India upon the art of the Far East has been overlooked, if not altogether ignored by most art critics? Buddhism "has now been extinct in India for several centuries, leaving, however, all over that country, a legacy of gorgeous architectural remains and monuments of decorative art, and its living effect upon its apparent offshoot Jainism, and upon Brāhmanism."§ Even to the educated Indian Buddhism to-day is an obscure subject of which he knows nothing or next to nothing. Of the great religious teacher—perhaps the greatest the world has ever produced—he knows little beyond what was taught him by some primer of Indian history in a short paragraph. The people of India do not remember, neither do they understand how Buddhism has influenced and is even now influencing their life and literature, their religions and ideas, their arts and industries. Her historians have done this great religious movement—which was not confined

* Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples of Ajānta*.

† Griffiths in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III.

‡ Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples of Ajānta*.

§ Waddell—*The Buddhism of Tibet*.

to religion only, but extended¹ its influence to every department of human activity—but scanty justice, forgetting that it influenced not only India but the whole East. And art-critics—but recently drawn to a serious and systematic study of Oriental art cannot be much blamed for overlooking this point. Moreover China was, for a very long time, inaccessible to European art-critics who could apply to her arts modern methods of comparison and classification.

"If, Anānda, in the doctrine and the order, which the Perfect One has founded, it were not conceded to women to go out from their homes into homelessness, holy living would remain preserved, Anānda, for a long time; the pure doctrine would abide for a thousand years. But now, Anānda, that, in the doctrine and order, which the Perfect One has founded, women renounce the world and go into homelessness, under these circumstances, Anānda, holy living will not be long preserved; only five hundred years, Anānda, will the doctrine of the truth abide." Buddha said this when with grave misgivings he at last yielded to the pressure of his foster-mother Mahāprajāpati, to receive women as his disciples. The causes of the decay of Buddhism as it was left by Buddha himself are to be found in the system itself.

"The strength as well as the weakness of original Buddhism lies in its philosophical character, which enabled a thinker, but not the masses, to understand the dispensation of the moral law that pervades the world. As such the original Buddhism has been called by Buddhists the little vessel of salvation, or Himayāna; for it is comparable to a small boat on which a man may cross the stream of worldliness so as to reach the shore of Nirvāna. Following the spirit of a missionary propaganda, so natural to religious men who are earnest in their convictions, later Buddhists popularised Buddha's doctrines and made them accessible to the multitudes. It is true that they admitted many mythical and even fantastical notions, but they succeeded nevertheless in bringing its moral truths home to the people who could but incompletely grasp the philosophical meaning of Buddha's religion. They constructed, as they called it, a large vessel of salvation, the Mahāyāna, in which the multitudes would find room and could be safely carried over. Although the Mahāyāna unquestionably has its shortcomings, it must not be condemned offhand, for it serves its purpose. Without regarding it as the final stage of religious development of the nations among which it prevails, we must concede that it resulted from an adaptation to their condition and has accomplished much to educate them. The Mahāyāna is a step forward in so far as it changes a philosophy into a religion and attempts to preach doctrines that were negatively expressed, in positive propositions." *

* Paul Carus—*The Gospel of Buddha*.

Then again—"The force of existing circumstances and the authority of the influential personages might perhaps for a time help to make up for, or conceal the utter want of organisation; finally however, the inherent impossibility of a Church without Church government, with ordinances which were only applicable to the narrow circle of a *côterie*, was certain to lead to ever-increasingly momentous consequences. Those deeply incisive schisms, which early arose and never disappeared, the weakening of the resistance opposed to Brâhmanism at first so successfully attacked, are phenomena certainly not unconnected with that fundamental defectiveness of Buddhist Church-organisation. If at last, after a long death-struggle, Buddhism has vanished from its Indian home, * * * we venture to think, that in the old rules of the community, in what they say and not less in what they leave unsaid, no small part of the preparatory history leading to that distant future is clearly enough depicted."*

Such are the causes of the decay of Buddhism as it was left by the great teacher himself, and its ultimate disappearance from the land of its birth.

And this is why—as the Chinese after losing the works of art and the manuscripts belonging to the Sung and Mongol dynasties, the former being lost during the Mongol conquest and the latter in the age of the reactionary Ming, now seek in Japan the fountain head of their own ancient knowledge, so we in India after influencing the ideals of the East now seek in the art of the Far East the source of the inspiration of our own art, and when in some art relic of ancient India we discern what is known as the "Chinese turn" we at once rush to the ridiculous conclusion that the art travelled from China to India, and not as it actually did from India to the Far East.

Indian art may be in a moribund condition in India to-day, but it still survives and thrives in the art of the Far East which it modified, influenced, recreated and, in some cases, even created.

"When in the cloister gardens at Rājagha and Sāratthi the discourses of Buddha were recited among the assembled brethren, they bethought themselves also of the prophecy: 'Not a long time, Anānda, will holy living remain preserved; five hundred years, Anānda, will the Doctrine of the truth abide.' Who then foresaw, that after five hundred years the Church of the Buddhists would overspread India, and that its missionaries far beyond India, traversing the ocean, crossing the snowy ranges of the Himālaya, wandering through the deserts of Central Asia, would bring the faith of Buddha to nations, whose name even was not then named in India—to nations among whom its faith survived and still survives to this day, while in its

* Oldenberg: *Buddha*.

parent land the spirit of the Indian people, which in endless play dashed into ever new spheres of thought and fancy, which relegated to nothingness the wreck of ruined worlds and rebuilt lost beauty, not always of greater stateliness, has long since permitted the Doctrine of Buddha to decay? " *

Similarly at the time of the greatest and most glorious development of Indian art who could imagine that when in its native land it has—owing to loss of liberty, introduction of foreign ideas and ideals and want of peace and prosperity—lost its tone and vigour, it would survive in the Far East expressing itself in wonderful activity and achieving wonderful results?

Let us hope, with the dawning of a new era on the civilization of the world a comprehensive history of Indian art will soon be written—in which Buddhism will be accorded its proper place in the development of Eastern art which by its unity in diversity interests the student of art and by its diversity in unity pleases those in whom the æsthetic sense has not become dull or dead.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

* Oldenberg—*Buddha*.

ART. VIII.—TYPES OF SOCIETY IN THE PUNJAB.

WRITING in 1892 Letourneau said the right of property begins in collectivism and tends towards individualism,* yet he went on to point out that among the most primitive races rights of property depended on the constitution of the tribe, which was of two types, republican and monarchic, at a very early stage of development, and it has been demonstrated by Seebohm and other writers, that the earliest system of land-holding, the most ancient tenures known to us in Northern Europe depended on and are explained by the tribal systems. Thus it is of the highest interest and importance to examine the organization of Indian castes and tribes, to see if their system exhibit any differences in type, and if so, to enquire whether those differences affect their social life and ideas of property.

The two types noticed by Letourneau certainly exist in India or at least in the Punjab, though in many instances, as might be expected, they overlap, and it is almost impossible to draw a well-defined line of demarcation between them. In practice a purely republican, or communistic tribe is as rare as a purely aristocratic or monarchic one, but the two types exist side by side and can be very clearly seen to affect the social life of the people in various ways.

In the first place they affect land-tenures, and to the present writer at least Letourneau's theory has made many of the bewildering intricacies and apparent inconsistencies of the land-systems of the Punjab readily intelligible. Briefly it may be said that it furnishes the key to a work, like the late Mr. Baden-Powell's *Indian Village Community*.

In the next place the theory throws a flood of light on what at first sight appear to be the hopeless contradictions and anomalies in the social systems of the people. There are in fact two social systems, one, the monarchic founded on individualism as Letourneau points out, the other the communistic. In that stage of evolution at which all but a few Western nations have arrived, women are chattels, and being themselves property are usually incapable of becoming actual owners of property. Each type of society starts with this conception, but the monarchic tribe makes woman the property of the individual and holds to monogamy or polygamy, while the communistic regards her as a chattel common to the brotherhood or at least to some section of the brotherhood of the tribe and accepts polyandry or com-

* *Property: its origin and development*, p. x (Contemporary Science Series).

munistic marriage just as it accepts the communal tenure of its land.

Another theory which may be advanced tentatively is that, in those tribes which are truly monarchic and which carry the principle of subjection to the tribal chief to an extreme, there will arise a tendency for the chief to become a superior proprietor of the woman of the tribe—just as he possesses an eminent domain over its land—and thus is evolved a *droit de seigneur*, which, whether it ever existed in Europe or not, can be shown to have been known in ancient times among monarchic tribes in the Punjab.

Thus the two types of tribal society may be shown to develop distinct types of land-tenures and marriage laws, and this is in strict accord with the trend of primitive thought which draws a close analogy between women and land. Examples are easily given. Thus among the Biloch a murder is committed by *wanni*, the payment of a girl, or *banni* a gift of land, to the murdered man's relations. In Sanskrit, the son by a levirate marriage was called *kshetrāja*, a word connected with *khet*,* a field. And the idea is not confined to India, for it was a Roman belief that the *feriae* were proper for the marriage of widows, but not of virgins—*quia tergere veteres fossas liceret feris, novas facere jus non esset*.† We may also compare the simile used by Oedipus ‡ and there is a well-known passage in the Quran which need not be quoted §

There is a third field in which the two social types appear to play an important part, and that is religion. There is some reason to think that the distinctive cult of the aristocratic or monarchic tribes is that of Vishna the Thakur or lord, while the communistic tribe worships the Earth-god, the common benefactor of all. It may be however that these cults, which are certainly subjective as primitive cults so often are, reflect rather the occupation than the social system of the tribe and that the aristocratic or military tribes worship Thakur as the war-lord, while the democratic tribes whose rôle is the cultivation of the soil worship the Earth-god. This subject is however beyond the scope of the present paper, but incidentally it may be remarked that the close connection between women and land, is reflected in religious ideas, for we find that the gods or saints revered by the peasantry are also worshipped by all women, the object being equally in either case to gain fertility by saintly intercession or divine power.

* Jolly's *Recht and Sitte*, p. 70.

† *De Marchi, II Culto Privato di Roma*, p. 152. Curiously enough a similar notion appears to exist among the Muhammadans of the Punjab.

‡ *Oedipus Tyrannus*, line 1245.

§ Satti's Translation, *Chandos Classics*, p. 23.

With these remarks we may turn to a consideration of the various castes and tribes which are organized on either system, and examine some of the more important results of those systems. The castes organized on an aristocratic basis are best exemplified by the Khatri and the Rajputs, two castes well-known in northern India. But the aristocratic system is not confined, by any means, to the high castes, for owing apparently to the institution of clientship the lower castes who are attached to or dependent on these castes imitate their organizations and adopt many of their social rules. Such castes are the Nais.

Other important castes such as the Aroras and Bhātias also have a social organization like that of the Khatri, the reason probably being that these castes are of Khatri descent. That the lower and dependent castes should imitate the higher in this respect, need cause no surprise, for we know from Dickens that a gentleman's gentleman takes rank according to his master's social position, and the hereditary relations between the higher castes, and their dependents are so close and constant, that they naturally adopt their social prejudices, much as a Roman freedman took his patron's name. Further the Brahmans, in spite of their sacrosanct character, reflect in their social organization the system of their patrons, and if this appear inconsistent with their priestly functions, we may remind our readers of the position of the chaplain in great houses in England in the eighteenth century. Anyone who has read Esmond, will at once realize what the social dependence of the priestly caste is in the East.

The organization of the Khatri caste differs from that of the Rajputs, and the latter again comprises many varieties of the type. Nevertheless the guiding principle is the same in both cases, and at the risk of being tedious, we may describe the Khatri system in some detail. It is best represented by a diagram.

There are three main groups :—

1. The Bari or group of twelve (*barah*) sections or *gots*.
2. The Bunjahi or group of fifty-two sections,
3. The Sarin (? from Sanskrit *sreni* a line or row), the mass or ruck.

In theory but not in reality the Bunjahi contains fifty-two sections and the Bari usually *does* contain twelve, and it will at once strike the ingenious reader that there are in a year twelve months and fifty-two weeks, but whether there is any connection between that fact and the Khatri system, and if so, what the connection is, does not appear. But whatever the origin of these groups may be, there is an acknowledged fact, *viz.*, that a Khatri of the Bari group may marry a Bari, Bunjahi or even a Sarin bride, but he may not give his daughter in marriage to a Bunjahi or *a fortiori* to a Sarin. In other words the three groups are hypergamous.

But this is not all. Each of these three groups is farther divided into various sub-groups, also hypergamous. Thus we have a Bāri-Bunjahi sub-group, *i.e.*, the 12 upper-crust *gots* or sections of the 52 Bunjahi *gots* and a Bāri-Bunjahi Khatri may take a bride from, but not give one to a Khatri of the 40 remaining Bunjahi *gots*. So too we find a Bāri or elder and a Chhoti or junior Sarin sub-group, with a similar rule. The most interesting (and complicated) grouping is, however, that found among the Bāris proper, *i.e.*, the first group. Here we have a highly ingenious grouping though the ingenuity is a little misdirected, and we find among the Bāris

Dhaighar	or the	group of	2½	houses
Charghar	"	"	4	"
Chbeghar	"	"	6	"
Baraghar	"	"	12	"

to eliminate a number of less important and often local complications.

Now the Dhaighar group does not contain 2½ families or houses or *gots* (sections), nor does the Charghar contain 4 *gots* etc. Whatever these terms originally meant they now imply simply this—that a Dhaighar Bāri Khatri will only give his daughter in marriage to two-and-a-half, *i.e.*, to three (the No. 3 being it appears too unlucky to be mentioned) *gots*: while to a Charghar is allowed a greater latitude and he may marry her in any one of four *gots*: and so on. In other words the more restricted the circle within which a Khatri permits himself to bestow a daughter the higher his position in society—and *vice versa*. Social status does, it would seem, depend on the extent of the circle within which a man may marry, though generally (but not universally) he must marry a Khatrani, *i.e.*, a woman of the caste.

Such in outline is the extraordinary system of the Punjab Khatri. Its results are far-reaching, and the social evils to which it gives rise manifold and deplorable. In the first place, to begin at the bottom of the scale, the Sarins, especially the junior group, must have a difficulty in obtaining wives, and as the article is scarce there is keen competition for it, so girls are sold and the cost of marriage raised. The prohibition of widow re-marriage, common to the whole caste, adds to the cost. Farther when wives are not procurable illicit unions with girls of other castes—with whom marriage is impossible—are found, and the demand for such girls is met by a system of trafficking in women which baffles the police and the magistrates, because however immoral it is not illegal.

In the middle groups the results are still more curious. Compelled on the one hand to purchase brides from the lower groups for their sons, families of the middle class have also, on the other hand to purchase sons-in-law for their daughters from the groups.

which are above them in the social scale, so that they are mulcted on either side. In a sense the highest groups are in a singularly favoured position for, by practising a modified form of what is known as Kulinism in Bengal, their members can exact substantial dowries from their brides' parents, their consent to accept a daughter from a lower group having to be purchased at any cost.

The evil results of this social system are manifest. The upper classes within the caste are constantly recruited from the lower, not by a system of natural selection, but from the most sordid motives. The wife being often in reality purchased, though the fact of purchase is disavowed, and as often of lower social position than her husband, must inevitably occupy a low place in the household and thus the whole position of women in society is hopelessly and permanently degraded. It may indeed be suggested that the chief cause of the inferior position accorded to women in modern India as compared with that assigned to them in Vedic times is due to this, the leading idea of the social system. In the higher groups there is but little room for the daughters of the family. As families of equal status can always obtain brides from a lower group there is a difficulty in finding husbands for their own daughters and as an inevitable result they are neglected.

The effects of this on the physique and intelligence of the caste may be imagined. *Girls* are neglected. If not deliberately killed at birth in the manner beloved of primitive and savage societies they are less tenderly treated than boy-children and no officious attempt is made to keep them alive. The wealthier and well-to-do families whose children would be naturally stronger in mind and body than those of their poorer caste-fellows are tempted to lower the standard of breeding and refinement by a succession of *mésalliances*, and to a certain extent Indian society itself recognises this danger; for it is not uncommon to find that marriage with a girl of lower status is only permitted in alternate generations, the position of a family being lowered unless every second generation mates with a bride of its own standing.

Such is the system of the Khatri, the great trading caste of the Punjab. That of the Rajputs, one of the great land-owning castes is similar in principle but differs in its details with the locality in which it is settled. In the Kangra Hills, the home of a very ancient type of Hindu civilization, never contaminated by close association with, or subjection to a dominant Muhammadan race, there appear to be in theory seven grades of what may be termed society. Below these grades are the artizan and menial castes which are outside the pale, but within it are the rude peasantry whose daughters may aspire, by a series of hyper-gamous marriages, to become the mothers of a queen in seven

generations. Here again the higher groups are constantly recruited from the lower so that purity of blood is almost unknown. At the bottom of the social scale is the Ghirth (possibly from the Sanskrit *grihastha*, householder) a petty cultivator, living in the lower valleys amid rice-fields, and in consequence of inferior physique. Yet as the proverb runs, in the seventh generation the Ghirth's daughter becomes a queen and thus, equally with the Khattris, social progress, based on equal marriages and a rational position accorded to women, is out of the question. To describe adequately the intricacies of Rajput society generally, would hardly be possible. It is in a constant state of flux, the social position of each family varying incessantly. One family has never yet regained the status it lost by giving a daughter in marriage to a Sikh ruler who, as a Jât, was outside the ring-fence of the Rajput fraternity. Probably the taking of a Jât's daughter to wife, would not have appreciably lowered the family's position. Thus we have the curious result, so opposed to European ideas, that contamination of the blood is not effected by marriage with an inferior or a commoner, but that the surrender of a daughter to a husband of lower status inflicts an indelible stain on her family.

The study of the Rajput system, nebulous as it is, is full of interest. At the head of the social scale stands the *râjâ* or king, but he is anything but a monarch nor is his power by any means absolute. His eldest son is the *tikka* or heir designate, his second is the *dothuin*, his third the *tirthain*, and so on. On the accession of the *tikka* custom, inexorable in this as in everything else, requires that he should endow his younger brothers with a substantial share of his dominions, and each cadet of the ruling family exercises semi-sovereign powers in his own fief. Thus a Rajput State is almost invariably split up into several sub-states, allowing allegiance to the main state, but constitutionally subject to it only so far as their submission can be enforced.

H. A. ROSE.

(To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Census of India. Volume XVII. The Punjab and North-West Frontier Province. Part I. Report by H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (Simla, Government Central Printing Office.)

MR. Rose adorns his title-page with the aphorism "Statistics accumulate and Knowledge decays." Is this a warning to the enthusiast, who deduces everything from statistics and reduces everything to statistics, or is it a mere cry of exhaustion after a monumental work, similar to Solomon's, "of making many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh." It must be a weariness of the flesh certainly for the Statistician to have to answer such questions as the following, addressed to him by the Census Commissioner. "What are the actual working beliefs of the ordinary man? What are his standards of right and wrong, and what does he suppose will happen to him if he disregards them?" The different answers furnish food for thought, not only as indicating the many religious beliefs held in separate Provinces, but as showing the different attitudes assumed by the Western and presumably Christian men responsible for answering the question in each Province. The chapters in this Report on Religion and on Civil Condition are exceptionally interesting, in spite of the fact that Mr. Rose states that he did not expect to have to write a chapter on religions and so had not attempted to collect information on the subject. There is a marked increase in the Mohammedan population in contrast to the Hindu, although the Mohammedan is the poorer, the more thriftless and the less energetic, and felt the effects of famine much more severely. Mr. Rose attributes the fact to the Hindu artificial restraints on marriage, and to the law excluding females from succession to land, "making the Punjab the land of sons only," just as the Code Napoleon had made France the country of *le fils unique*. The fact that Hinduism is rather a social than a religious system in the Punjab accounts for the absence of any new Hindu sects in the past decade. The tendency of Hinduism to form Sects is exemplified even in that neo-Hinduism the Arya-Somaj. "In the Jullunder district it has split up into two or three sections, each differing from the other on minor religious points and there is at present but little harmony among them." The members of the Arya-Somaj only number 9,105 adult males in the two Provinces out of a population of nearly 25 millions. The Christians number 71,864 and are subdivided under 14 headings: the English Church numbers

over 40,000; of the others only the Roman and Presbyterian number over 5,000 adherents. One is reminded of the clever account in a London newspaper of the new Church of Humanity, which went down to worship in one four-wheeler and returned in two hansoms, not because there had been fresh conversions but because there had been a schism. That Christians are wearying of these perpetual schisms is possibly shown by the fact that nearly 16,000 "Christians" in the Punjab returned themselves as such, without giving any denomination. Of these quite one-half were natives. It is possible that a certain number of such vague returns may have been due to a dread of the consequences if they made their denomination known. We have known an English village where pious Anglicans preferred to have their linen ruined or to put up with bad eggs sooner than patronise the only good laundry and poultry farm in the place which happened to be a Roman Catholic Nunnery. The same petty persecution prevails in many Hospitals, and not only in England, so that many a good nurse conceals the fact of her being a Roman Catholic as it may mean that she is not appointed. Episcopalians suffer in the same way in Presbyterian Scotland, and we have heard that in a certain Scotch regiment the recruiting sergeant is paid by the regiment double the ordinary sum for each recruit if he should be a Presbyterian. Considering our extreme toleration for "non-Christian" religions, and our Quixotic "justice" in this country so as to be almost biassed against our own colour, it is time we put a stop to such invidious distinctions on religious grounds in secular matters. This by the way.

The reviewer is not a Roman Catholic, but fails to see how there can be Roman Catholic eggs or Protestant soap or Anglican bandages. It is quite possible that some such reason as this exists for the vague return noticed.

A sect interesting as illustrating the origin of Islam and of various early heresies and likewise of some mediæval superstitions is described under the title of Chet-Ramis, a cross so to speak between Hinduism and Christianity, such as very likely to arise under the methods of open air "Christian preachers."

"The sect was founded by one Chet-Ram some thirty-five years ago. His father was a shop-keeper and money-lender. He was a man of little education. When twenty-five years of age he began his mission and soon gathered round him a number of disciples. He died about 1895 and his daughter was installed as his successor"—(herein following the traditions of the Booth Family). "He was burnt near the village of Bhuchoke, where three fairs are held annually to commemorate his memory. Implicit confidence in Christ as the only God was the chief basis of his teaching. A copy of the Bible was to be worn by each of his disciples round his neck: they were also to carry a long rod with a cross at its

head." (The Oriental mind sees no antagonism between the Gospel and ritual.) "The front portion of the rod bears the inscription 'Help, O Jesus Christ, Holy Ghost, God! Read the Bible and the Gospels for Salvation.' His followers belong mainly to the poorer classes. They are to be met with chiefly in the Lahore district. Forty persons are always to subsist on alms and preach the teaching of Chet-Ram. These are to remain celibate all their lives. The number of his followers is increasing day by day, but Hindu converts do not mix with Mohammedan converts and caste prejudices remain untouched." Are these Franciscans of the thirteenth century or the Salvation Army of the nineteenth? The lack of the real Christian spirit however is proved by the last remark; the genius of caste and race is too much for this new religion.

Mr. Rose mentions several other interesting features of various sects. In a house of the Zinda-Kaliana sect, is a sacred fire which has been kept burning for four centuries. What generations of faith and devotion have been necessary for this result! The same sect practises as an ascetic act sleeping on the ground. After a death and before and after a marriage this is practised even by the laity: no resident or pilgrim at Khangah Dogran and Sakhi Sarwar may use a bed out of respect to the saints there worshipped. Mr. Rose recalls the *σελλός* or priest of the Pelasgian Zeus who had to sleep on the ground "with unwashed feet."

The worship of the Gaddis is as Catholic as that of decadent Rome or of the Athens of St. Paul. On Sundays and Thursdays Naga and Sidha are worshipped, on Tuesdays Devis and so on. The Birs are worshipped on Thursdays, one of them Kailu Bir the nomen of abortion being worshipped by women only, presumably in this heathen and oriental land where children are still "a heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord," with a view to averting such disasters. Autars are the spirits of persons who have died childless and who are therefore supposed to cause sickness. Bengali Mohammedans believe that such a spirit becomes a will o' the wisp, reminding one of St. Jude's "wandering stars to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever." To propitiate an autar, a sickman puts on special clothes with an image of the deceased and then worships the autar or idol which is always kept near a stream. In addition, the Gaddis believe in sprites of springs and wells, and of rocks. They have curious marriage customs too; in one peculiar to themselves, a woman early in pregnancy puts aside four copper coins with her necklace in the name of the Nag Kailung. Two or three months after delivery she worships the Nag, putting up a large stone under a walnut or wild-pear tree and sprinkling the blood of the right ear of a white goat over a cloth which she wears till worn out. No

other woman may use this sheet. These pretty domestic customs remind one of the vows of Old Testament mothers and of the Christian custom of Churching the woman "decently apparelled" and offering "accustomed offerings." The lack of such services in the forms of Christianity which have sprung up since the Reformation emphasizes what has been so often noticed, the points of resemblance between the great heathen religions and Catholicism. As Keble says "The occasional services constitute from their personal and domestic nature the most perfect instance of that *soothing* tendency in the Prayer Book which it is the chief purpose of these pages to exhibit." (Preface to the "Christian Year.") One other curious custom of the Gaddis is the wearing of the "crown of the rival wife" by a second wife to avert the hostility of her dead rival. This jealousy on the part of the dead, whether the childless or the dead first wife, is an echo of the shades of Virgil who still long for the warmth and the Sunlight of earth, but to it is added a malevolence unknown to the happier Western nature.

In Chapter IV Mr. Rose has some interesting remarks on the subject of the habitual misstatements of natives as to age.

"There are three chief causes or motives which lead to misstatement of age:—inaccuracy of thought, vanity, and superstition. The first is beyond all doubt the most efficacious in this part of India in vitiating the age returns. Just as distances are measured (in the hills at least) by the number of halts required to enable you to have a good smoke (a *pakka tambaku*) or merely a few whiffs (*kacheha tambaku*) while grain is measured by the handful and land by the quantity of seed required to sow it, so ages are not counted but described; and there is no doubt that the phrases in use convey to a native a much more vivid idea of a man's age than mention of his precise age in numbers would do. In Jhelum phase, *nau-jawan* signifies ... 15-25 years.

<i>jawan</i>	...	25-40	„
<i>pakki umr</i>	...	40-50	„
<i>buddha</i>	...	over 50	„

In Kurram a man's age is judged like a horse's by mark of mouth.

<i>warukai ghakh</i> , of small teeth	...	under 15
<i>manz ghakh</i> , of middle teeth	...	20-35
<i>pokh ghakh</i> , of full teeth	...	35-70

Obviously to ask people who think in this picturesque but rather primitive way to translate their thoughts into numbers is expecting too much.

The tendency of women "of a certain age" to understate it affects European returns as well as native. Yet I doubt if the effect is very marked, except in the case of girls of a marriageable age for whom no husband has been found. . . . The tendency

of the old to overstate their age is perhaps to a certain extent counterbalanced by the feeling that it is luckier to understate one's age than to exaggerate it.

Superstition has remarkably little effect.

Mr. Rose notes great difficulties in obtaining correct ages of children and considers that we have failed to obtain accurate data. The statistics show that there is, as in England, a greater mortality of males than of females in the first year of life; but "as soon as that is past the difference between the Punjab conditions and those of England is very striking, for there the mortality in both sexes is the same from the 3rd to the 35th year of life, and after that females die less rapidly than males, whereas in these Provinces females die more rapidly in proportion to their numbers than males up to the age of forty." We believe that this difference is due to the large number of unmarried or of purposely childless married women in England, and of our scientific obstetric methods at home. In India, almost all women are married, and they run far greater risks in childbirth. By the way, it seems unreasonable that in England, women should pay a higher premium for life-insurance than men, if the statistics are as Mr. Rose states. In any case unmarried women or women over forty should not have the five years added to their real age before calculating the premium, which is usual with Life Insurance Companies. Talking of life insurance, special care is needed in insuring the lives of young widows in India; it is obvious that as re-marriage of widows is not usually practised even where as in the case of Native Christians and Mohammedans it is allowed, the widow does not run this extra risk of childbirth. The expectation of life is therefore in her case greater than that of the married woman under forty, and she is not likely to leave any children she already has unprovided for. The temptation therefore to relatives to assure her life and to shorten it artificially must in some cases present itself. We know of one such case discovered by a lady doctor in Bombay, and on her information the Company refused the life on suspicion of intended foul play—the candidate being a healthy young Hindu widow under twenty without children whose life was only of value to her family from the point of view her life-policy—

The proportion of females to males for the province is low. Mr. Rose thinks the causes are in the main social not climatic.

If they were climatic our data for seasonal birthrate would surely show some traces of the influence of climate. If they were economic we should certainly find that the lower and poorer castes had invariably a lower ratio of females than the higher but the converse is generally the case. The law of hypergamy which compels a man to marry his daughter in a group of

higher or at least equal social status to his own, accounts in some degree for this paucity of females. Again, there is the very important law which forbids the taking to wife of the daughter of a sacred group or conceivably of a sacred village. It is not merely that a Sayad could not give his daughter in marriage to a layman, but that the layman would deem it sacrilege. This feeling that certain groups are sacred belongs to all great religions and is so deeply-rooted that it appears to have extended so as to forbid the taking to wife of a girl born in a village which has become sanctified by the birth of a holy personage within it. . . . Vaguely we may say that in a rude half civilized society the weaker sex will go to the wall and probably the general conditions of existence in these Provinces are as a whole inimical to female life, but this does not explain why the Sikhs should have a lower ratio of females than the Hindus (whilst the granth condemns female infanticide as one of the four deadly sins) and the Mohammadans a higher ratio than either. Alike among Mohanimadans, Hindus and Sikhs, there are no rejoicings at the birth of a girl. The Mohamadan social system with its disregard of many artificial restrictions on intermarriage is favourable to female life.

Mr. Rose instances one extraordinary reason for male infanticide, namely as the remedy for barrenness in another woman and so, often perpetrated by her or in her behalf. He thinks that the idea that a bronze knife must be used and that as much pain as possible must be caused, points to its origin in human sacrifices. The idea that a dead child's life may be re-transferred to its mother or to another woman and born again into the world seems clear from many practices. A dead girl is hidden in the jungle and told "Don't come back but send a brother." Dead children are frequently buried at the threshold, with the idea of keeping the life in the house. The tribes of Central Australia believe "that the spirit part of the child goes back at once to the particular spot whence it came and can be born again at some subsequent time even of the same woman." The idea that the first born son has his father's spirit in him, accounts for the infanticide of the first born if a girl. So deep is this idea of the father's spirit passing into the first born son, that amongst the Kochhar, the father's funeral rites are actually performed in the fifth month of pregnancy; and they perform the ceremony of *dev-kaj* or divine nuptials, i.e., the ritual re-marriage of the parents after the birth of their first son. Another reason for infanticide is the belief that certain children are unlucky, e.g., the second of three girls in succession, and a boy that comes between two girls. Unlucky male children can be handed over to religious orders, which are not open to females, except in the case of Buddhists. Mr. Rose thinks cases

of infanticide still occur, but usually more in the form of unconscious or semi-conscious neglect of females. The chapter on Civil Condition gives many interesting particulars as to marriage. It seems that in Chamba, Ambala, and Hoshiarpur there is as much antagonism to the re-marriage of widowers as of widows. Mr. Rose considers that the objection points to a time when marriage was regarded as a sacrament and so inviolable, and without the clause "till death us do part" of our English ritual. Twenty per cent. of women over 15 are widows among the Sikhs and Mohanmadans, 24 per cent. among the Hindus, owing probably rather to the earlier age of marriage among the Hindus than to their prejudice against re-marriage. The proportion is less than in 1881, which points to a gradual increase in widow re-marriage.

Polygamy is much less common than is usually supposed. It is rare among the higher Hindu castes. Six per mille among Hindus and Sikhs, 11 per mille among Mohanmadans are polygamists. It is commoner among the lower agricultural tribes, possibly as a remnant of the idea by which a man inherited his brother's wife or wives as among his household goods; but practically a wife is an investment, as most of the field work is done by women.

Polyandry in the lower classes of the Tibetans of the Punjab and the enforced celibacy of all sons except the first born are evidently forms of prudential restraint on population. The Kauts of Bangahal do not limit their sons, but the property devolves on the youngest. Speaking of polygamy, 18 native Christians are noted as practising it—presumably recent converts. Mr. Rose makes no note on the matter, which is peculiar. The very lax way in which marriages are performed in this country outside the Churches of Rome and England may account for this anomaly.

The whole report is deeply interesting, a mine of wealth in folklore as well as in statistics necessary for political and economical purposes—and forms a curious contrast to the cheaply-acquired and hastily-published impressions of "Paquet M. P."

Census of India, 1901, Volume XXVI, Travancore, by N. Subramanya Aiyar, M.A., M.B., C.M., Dewan Peishcar, Census Commissioner.

THIS volume is another of this fascinating series of probably the most interesting blue books in the world. It presents special features, being a Native State, one of which is that the Census Commissioner is a native of India; he was appointed without prejudice to his duties as Sanitary Commissioner and his medical qualifications must have given him some special

facilities for the work. The wild nature of the country rendered a night census impossible. The travelling population, and the houseless poor were enumerated at night, the resident population on the following morning. Dr. Subramanya Aiyar considers the census remarkably accurate and notes that the attitude of the people towards it was one of unsuspecting tolerance if not of positive helpfulness. Canards about the intentions of Government were conspicuous by their absence and there were no Census offences. The volume opens with some remarkably good coloured maps, a feature missing in some other volumes of the Report. Among the Native States of Madras, the largest is Travancore, its area is 7,091 square miles. It is smaller than Baroda and only one-twelfth the size of Hyderabad or Kashmir. It is a little smaller than Wales and covers 1 per cent. of the aggregate area of all the Native States and Agencies taken together. Its total population is close on 3 millions, a greater proportion for its area than almost any other Native State, Mysore with four times the area, has only double the population, while Kashmir has a smaller population. Wales has only half the population of Travancore. The density of population is 416 to the square mile, a proportion only exceeded by Bengal with 494 and the United Provinces with 445, and Cochin which is the most densely populated Native State with 596. Kashmir has only 36 persons to a square mile. As the General Report points out, "A low specific population density may imply pressure as much as a high one, and conversely great density is not incompatible with a high standard of comfort." Dr. Subramanya Aiyar remarks:—In a country like Travancore where the Agriculturist class predominates and where large manufacturing industries are comparatively unknown, the distribution of the population is mainly determined by the scope and facility for procuring the means of subsistence from the soil. Where the physical configuration of the country, as in the north-eastern parts, interposes permanent obstacles to the extension of agricultural operations, a keenly felt population pressure may co-exist with an extremely low density. Where however these obstacles are absent as in the littoral and deltaic regions, the density or specific population may be high; but the pressure with reference to the extent and capacity of the land may admit of still further increase. For gauging pressure the census records cannot supply the materials. Only nine places are censused as Towns, i.e., places with over 5,000 inhabitants. Their average population was 20,000, higher than that of all other Native States except Kashmir which are only two towns, but with an average population of 80,000. The largest town in Trivandrum, the residence of the Maharajah, but it has only a small seaport, and Quilon, one of the oldest towns on the

coast, promises to regain its important commercial position with the opening of the Tinnevely—Quilon Railway—Kottayam is interesting as the centre of the Syrian Christian community and the site of the most ancient Syrian Church in Malabar.

Travancore is interesting as being next to Cochin, the most Christian territory in India. Nine religions are distinguished in the census' schedules—Hinduism, Mohammadanism, Christianity, Animism, Sikhism, Jainism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Judaism. Three persons have been found who have added the "religion" of "Atheism" to the list. Of these, Hinduism numbers two millions and Christianity comes second with nearly 700,000. There were 227 Buddhists, 151 Jews, 15 Sikhs, 7 Zoroastrians, and 1 Jain. For every 10 Hindus there are 3 Christians and 1 Mussalman. Since 1891, Hindus have diminished by 327 while Mussalmans have gained 25, and Christians 302. During the last decade for every 5 persons added to the Hindu community, 2 have left for the Christian fold. The tendency to collect in towns is strongest in Mussalmans, weakest among the Christians. The Christians of Travancore are divided into Romans, Syrians, and Protestants under which latter heading is included the Anglican Church. The Romans were 377,500 to 226,619 Syrians and only 88,590 Protestants—but that it is the last of the three that is proselytizing most actively is shown by the percentages, of which the figures are, Roman + 27.8, Syrian + 21.3 while the Protestant percentage is + 97.8 during the decade.

The absence in Travancore of the Sectarian Spirit leads numbers of both Christians and non-Christians to make no return under the heading of sect. There has been absolute toleration in religious matters since very early days. The history of the reversion of the Malabar Hindus to their original non-Sectarianism is, says the Commissioner, "wholly centred in that great philosopher and saint of India about the time of the traditional visit of St. Thomas—Śrī Sankarachārya. "He preached that all created things are manifestations of a Supreme Eternal Spirit and openly proclaimed the absence of difference between Vishnu and Siva, laying down sectarian neutrality as an inviolable law. With a wisdom which reminds one in many ways of the Catholic Church, he allowed the practice of any rites prescribed by the Veda or by orthodox teachers, to those who could not rise to a philosophic conception of the Godhead. In this he was at one with St. Dominic and his Rosary, or Wesley and his hymns—men of whom it may be said "*Beati qui intelligunt pauperes*," the Latin more pregnant than the English translation "Blessed is the man that considers the poor and needy." Consideration may be learnt, but the man and woman that *understand* the spiritual needs of the simple and unlearned are born not made.

In our review of the Punjab Census Report, we mentioned not only this evident weariness among many of Sectarianism, but the growth of strange sects exhibiting a sort of cross-strain between Christianity and Hinduism. Islam is an example of a similar cross between Christianity, Judaism, and the old Arabian superstitions. There is a sect in Travancore known as the Yuyomayam Sect which arose in some of the extravagances of millennium—seeking Protestants and now exhibits a curious combination of Catholic and extreme Protestant traditions with Sanskrit religious phraseology and invocations adapted from those of the Brahmins, suited to their converts, and a certain lingering of caste rules. Its history is as follows: In 1875 Justus Joseph, descendant of a Brahmin Protestant convert of two centuries ago, announced that the millennium would begin in 1881. He aroused considerable enthusiasm in the six years preceding that date, which naturally cooled off after it had passed uneventfully. He maintained a certain following, by interpreting his prophecy differently, with either a sublimity of faith or a refinement of chicanery, and now gave out that the absence of faith in God was the darkness he preached against, and that the establishment of his sect denoted the millennium. He managed to retain the allegiance of some of his followers, even with only this modified millennium to offer them. The sect has a High Priest of the family of the founder. Tithes are levied on the faithful. There are no Churches, and a service is conducted in the house of some adherent, which is a striking combination of Catholic and Protestant features.

“Bread and water are placed on a table. The people stand round and pray in silence for a few minutes. Prayer is then said and Hallelujah sung. After this portions from the Old and New Testaments are read. With the pronouncement of the benediction by the priest, the service closes, and the consecrated bread and water are distributed among the congregation. Occasionally there is a short sermon. Neither men nor women may wear ornaments; the women wear the clothes of caste Hindus. Marriage takes place in the presence of the priest and is registered. Animal food is forbidden. They dispose of the dead in their own premises like the Malabar Hindus, but do not cremate them. They have an era of their own, dating from October 1st, 1881—.”

The Commissioner accounts for the fact that out of a total of nearly 700,000 Christian 23,000 (3·3 per cent.) have not recorded their sect, by saying that the Native-Christian is usually ignorant as to the name of his sect. That is just as well perhaps where we find as separate sects in the Census Schedule Anglican Church, Church Mission, Church of America, Church of England, Church of Ireland, Episcopalian, S. P. G. Mission, and Protestant—all called “Anglican Communion” in some of the Census Tables.

It is the fashion to judge of the accuracy of an Indian Census by the nearness with which the female total approaches that of the males. It is considered that "the neglect and contempt" with which women are treated is accountable for their numerical inferiority in most parts of India. Human nature is apt to prevail in man and it is not our experience that women are, as a rule, either neglected or despised in India. Reticence as regards domestic life is early taught to all boys of decent family and accounts for misstatements to male census officials. In Travancore the purdah hardly prevails at all and the succession through the female line causes girls to be as much cared for as boys. There has been marked improvement in the proportion of the sexes in the last two decades, showing improved census methods.

The chapter on civil condition is interesting as giving some account of the practices of the Nayars, (also well described in the little book on Malabar which we review elsewhere) or Nairs. Advocates (like Bernhard Shaw) of relaxation of the marriage tie can see the system fairly at work in Travancore. It is striking that those brought up under its influences are anxious to adopt the more orthodox views of the West and indeed of other parts of India. "Marriage is relatively less universal, juvenile marriage less common, and immutable widowhood less prevalent here than elsewhere." In Travancore as in England the number of spinsters is in excess of the number of married women. "In regard to the married, the condition of wedded happiness is not lifelong. With nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the males in the later years of life the housewife has failed and the support of the household in the case of $\frac{1}{2}$ the females. The Animists have the largest proportion of married folk, and the Christians come second—Musalmans come highest in both bachelors and spinsters and Animists lowest. Hindu bachelors and Christian spinsters are proportionately more numerous. We must attribute the large proportion of unmarried Christian women partly to their education by nuns, Catholic or Protestant, and must here enter a protest against the danger of educating these girls to consider the life of a teacher or nurse higher than that of a housemother. It may possibly be that, in the abstract, a life devoted to pious and charitable ministrations to the many, may be higher it is certainly less rewarded by earthly happiness) than that of similar ministrations to the few near and dear—but Indian women are very seldom capable of this life; Western women have been trained under other skies, in a more bracing moral atmosphere, have better mental training, and the traditions of hundreds of Christian generations. The training of girls in large schools does not develop such good wives and mothers as the training of home life. The Roman Catholics are, we think, the most successful of all the Christian bodies in not raising their converts to too high a standard of

education so as to unfit them for the monotonous domestic duties of the Indian home. We want "a creature not too bright and good, For human nature's daily food." The Education Statistics show that out of a population of 2,900,000, no less than 2,600,000 are illiterate: that is only 1 person in 8 is literate, the male literates being 7 times the females. The advance of female education is seen by the fact that 5·7 per cent. of girls between 15 and 20 can read and write, whereas over that age the percentage drops considerably. The highest degree of literacy is found in the Taluks where Christianity has been longest at work, the Native-Christian showing a literate percentage of 15·7 in all. As might be expected the hill-tribes are the least literate—only 2 per mille. Christian women are of course far ahead of the females of any other religion in literacy, Hindus come next, Christians showing 52 per mille, Hindus 25 per mille. Musalmans only 10 per mille while the Animistic women are practically uneducated. There are only 238 per mille illiterate Eurasians, a result we should think largely due to the Convent Schools. As regards literacy in English, 1 person in every 220 can read and write English; no doubt a larger number has some speaking acquaintance with it. This proportion is less than in Ajmere, Merwara and Bombay, but is equal to Madras and Mysore, all the others coming behind. Of the languages for which statistics have been collected for India at this Census, 41 have been returned from Travancore.

Census of India. North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Part III, Provincial Tables and Appendices. By R. Burn, I.C.S.

THIS volume forms the last of the three of which the Census Report for the United Provinces is composed. It gives us nothing to add to our review of the first two volumes in the January number. It is well arranged and clearly printed; the totals appearing in larger type are easily seized by the eye. The subjects of the Provincial Tables are the variations in population, the population by religion, literacy by religion, ages of the population of municipalities above 10,000 inhabitants, and numbers of adherents of particular sects of Hinduism and Muhammadanism. The appendices treat of the details of the Census operations, the deaths registered under the Infanticide Act, and other vital statistics.

International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.—Volume III, Part I. Physics, Part I.
Volume IV. Part I. Physiology including Experimental Psychology, Pharmacology, and Experimental Pathology.
 Part I. Price Rs. 21 each. Published for the International

Council, by the Royal Society of London. (Harrison & Sons, London.)

THE International Catalogue of Scientific Literature is an outgrowth of the catalogue of scientific papers of the nineteenth century published by the Royal Society. It was Professor Henry of Washington who first suggested such a catalogue. There is both an author's catalogue and a subject catalogue in each volume: and the schedules and indexes are given in English, French, German and Italian. So good is the acquaintance of most German Scientists with other continental tongues that the German catalogue might almost have been omitted. The possibility of preparing a complete index of current scientific literature by international co-operation was first taken into consideration by the Royal Society in 1893. It was evident that the work was beyond the power of any single body. An International Conference of delegates from all countries was held in London in 1896, a second conference in 1898, and a third in 1900. The Royal Society organized the Central Bureau, and undertook the office of publishing the catalogue. The supreme control over the catalogue is vested in an International Convention to be held every fifth year, and in the interim by an International Council. The catalogue comprises all original contributions to seventeen branches of science—Mathematics and the Physical Sciences—Psychology is only included where experimental as in the volume just issued. The Honorary Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is responsible for the Regional Bureau of India. Dr. W. T. Blanford represents India on the International Council. Sir Michael Foster and Professor Armstrong are among the members of the Executive Committee and the Director is Dr. Forster Morley.

Annual Progress Report, Archaeological Survey Circle, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, year ending 31st March 1902.
Government Press, Allahabad.

EVERY one who feels a real interest in our Indian Empire must be grateful for the work done year by year by the Archaeological Survey of India, there is a kind of *noblesse oblige* about the very existence of the department, working as it does to restore, renovate and preserve countless temples, mosques and tombs which otherwise would fall into decay; the large-hearted Titus did not wish the temple of Jerusalem destroyed, no doubt he would have founded an Archaeological Survey of Palestine if such had been the manner of his day.

Perhaps no higher tribute to the talent of the late Mr. E. W. Smith could have been paid than the simple statement occurring time after time in the Report that such and such a work

had come to a standstill owing to his death—a pillar not broken but with the capital partly carved, imagined to be the work of the hand that is still, might well be the monument to inspire others to finish what he has so well begun.

If we may venture to criticize the Report at all, it is merely to point out that there seems not to be always an entire harmony in the spirit in which the work is carried out,—to illustrate this we give the following extracts:—

Itimad-ud-daulah's Tomb, Agra—His Excellency the Viceroy visited this tomb in December 1899, and disapproved of the mural paintings in the vestibule, which had been restored by the Public Works Department some seven or eight years ago. His Excellency ordered that "the whole of this modern work should be removed, and if, as is possible, the original designs below have faded or been obliterated beyond recognition, the panels should be repainted with as close an approximation as possible to the designs and colours in the neighbouring untouched panels." In October 1901 the Archæological Surveyor submitted to Government an estimate for the restoration of the old paintings, which His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor approved. In November the modern paintings were drawn and photographed, and the modern work of the northern side was removed and the walls repared. When so much was done Mr. Smith died and the work was stopped by the order of Government.

Again,

Modern cloister like buildings in the courtyard of the Diwan-i-Am, Agra Fort.—His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor sanctioned Rs. 260 for the demolition of the modern cloister like buildings on the north-east and north-west sides of the Diwan-i-Am in the Agra Fort. With the permission of the Director-General of Military Works, Simla, the demolition has been carried out by the Provincial Public Works Department.

Every one must feel that all this is very right, but feeling so what are they to think of the following:—

Restoring the Sirhi Darwaza at the Taj.—This work comprised (a) general structural repairs, (b) restoring black and white marble inlay work of the finial columns, and (c) plastering the interior surface of the entire south wall of the quadrangle. The surface of the plaster has been coloured to imitate red sandstone, and by slightly varying the shades of colour a good suggestion of the general appearance of the original sandstone facing has been produced at a small cost.

This work was highly approved of by the late Lieutenant-Governor.

It is enough to make Ruskin turn in his grave, and that little touch "*at a small cost*," puts out the lamp of sacrifice and leaves an evil smelling wick instead.

Perhaps the sham sandstone was a necessary expedient, but why defend its use by an appeal to the kindly remark of the late Lieutenant-Governor. If a man has the misfortune to wear a glass eye he does not boast about it, however clever the invitation and however moderate the cost!

Some Notes on the Geological Survey of India in the Shan States.

[T] It is with very great pleasure that we have read the General Report of the Department of the Survey of India for 1900 and 1901.

It is of course entirely unnecessary to add the adjective 'thoroughly' to any description of the work of this Department, as all their operations are carried out with great conscientiousness which is only to be expected when one considers the position deservedly attained by the Department under the régime of its present able and indefatigable head.

Trigonometrical Survey.—In this direction it is noteworthy that the Government of India is carrying its operations into the Northern Shan States, and it is to be hoped that the public will now shortly learn something about this little known territory which is at present practically forbidden ground.

It is of course an open secret that the district N. E. of Lashio situate near the valley of the Nam-ma river is richly auriferous and we may expect to hear of very large gold-deposits being found and eventually worked, which must undoubtedly open up the country to commercial enterprise and benefit the Government to no small degree.

The evidences of gold are many, and from observations made by the writer who has lived in the Shan States and examined the district thoroughly, he is led to think that the gold which is now known to be alluvial will be found in large quartz reefs which are noticeable features of the range known as the Nam Hong Leng Hills. The formation of the country is largely dolomitic and sandstone with quartz stringers running through it. The direction taken by these lodes is chiefly N. E. by S. W. and to all appearances continue right down to the Salween River and will probably be found continued across the stream into what is now called the Wa States. With the survey maps which the Government has now in its possession and should publish, the public may hope to know more of this truly beautiful and salubrious climate, and may, in the near future, help to open up the Northern Shan States.

The little known Lushai Hills have met with attention and we note with great satisfaction that the more important portions of this survey have been completed and that the whole will shortly be finished. In Kashmir and adjoining territories the department have not been idle, for although interrupted and retarded by an exceptionally heavy season some 5,000 square miles have been covered in the direction of Gilgit through the Kaghan Valley. In Kashmir this department has also surveyed 3,224 square miles on behalf of the military authorities.

Kangra and Simla districts have also been surveyed and some six miles covered.

Topographical Surveys.—It is here to be observed that the Government are pushing operations in this direction also, and we see that the Lashio Section of the Northern Shan States has met attention, and that the surveys of the town and environs of Hsipaw is now completed.

Hsipaw is a flourishing town on the direct line of the Mandalay Kunlong Railway and is the capital of the Shan State of the same name, being 40 miles distant from "Lashio," the latter place being at present the terminus of the line which we hope to see carried on to the Chinese frontier, tapping on its way the richest and most important portions of the Shan States and thus opening up a direct route to Canton through the fertile province of Toungu.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti) by J. B. Stoughton Holborn. [Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture Series—George Bell and Sons, London. pp. 156.]

THESE little handbooks are worth possessing if only for the charming reproductions of the works of the Old Masters which they give in abundance. Of the 156 pages of this monograph on Tintoretto 38 are taken up by photographs of his best known pictures. A few of these are too crowded to have justice done to them in such a small page, for example the "Massacre of the Innocents" and the "Crucifixion." The "Last Supper" however is well reproduced, and even the "Study for Il Paradiso" justifies the author's remarks of the picture itself. "The picture is impossible to reproduce, being nearly eighty feet long. The unity that is preserved throughout this composition is its most marvellous quality, and one which *ou d priori* grounds it might have been urged was impossible with so many figures. It is thus a Paradise indeed. The one unfortunate circumstance is that Christ and the Virgin are the least satisfactory part of the whole picture." The "unity of action" is indeed plain even in the reproduction of the study for the picture, and here affords a marked contrast to Fra Angelico's Paradiso, in which the minor saints are engrossed in the welcome of their guardian angels and dance a happy dance with them in childish innocence and gladness, while the great saints, unconscious of these gambols at their feet, are rapt in the Beatific Vision. Tintoretto's is more the orthodox middle class conception of heaven as a place, where as the child Donovan has it "people sit on a cloud and sing hymns." Bernard Shaw in his last work "Man and Superman" gently satirises this conception. "At every one of these concerts in England you will find rows of weary people who are there not because they really like classical music, but because they think they ought to like it. Well there is the same thing in heaven. A number of people sit there in glory, not because they are happy, but because they think they owe it to their position to be in heaven. They are almost all English."

We own to a weakness for Fra Angelico's idea. There are some great saints who are only rightly represented as rapt in the Beatific Vision, such as S. Bernard of Clairvaux who could travel all day by a Swiss lake so lost in contemplation of

the premonitions of that vision that he could not tell his monastic hosts in the evening by what route he had come; but the majority of us look forward to the fair flowers of Paradise at our feet, the green pastures and still waters, and the welcome of the guardian angels, the Supernatural unseen before, or the human whom we have loved long since and lost awhile. Tintoretto's picture, however, gives an idea of the great multitude which no man can number and of their voice, the voice of many waters. Only a truly religious layman such as Tintoretto or such a devout Religious as Fra Angelico can take in hand the representation of the *Urbs beata Hierusalem*. One could wish that Tintoretto's picture lent itself more easily to reproduction: for a copy of such a picture would help its possessor through many a weary day of this brief life. "Quo illi pervenerunt, per gratiam Tuam me venturum confido."

Mr. Holborn gives several interesting comparisons of works by Tintoretto with those of Titian. To his mind Tintoretto is the greater artist of the two and indeed the greatest artist of all. Indubitably Tintoretto's little Virgin being presented in the Temple is far sweeter in her childish purity and dignity than Titian's rather commonplace dumpy little girl.

The "Ganymede" in the National Gallery, put down in the catalogue as "School of Titian," is ascribed by Mr. Holborn to Tintoretto, and certainly the picture, put side by side with a flying angel from his "Descent of Christ into Hades" does remind one forcibly of the "Ganymede." It is a fact that Tintoretto did paint Ganymede on the eagle's back, as a fresco on a dyer's house in Venice, close to the Ponte del Angelo; some fragments still remain. A story told by Ridolfi of Titian's jealousy of his little pupil Tintoretto accounts for the fact noticed by Mr. Holborn that Titian's Virgins, even his Virgin of the Assumption have none of the fervour of religion, not even the fervour of one who loved his fellow men. The nobility of Tintoretto's own character is well shown in the little anecdote his enthusiastic biographer gives at the end of his chapter on "Titian and Tintoretto." After the victory of Lepanto the Senate chose Titian to celebrate the event, with Guiseppe Salviati as his assistant. "Titian was at this time so old that it was clear that the undertaking was beyond his power and Tintoretto, at length approached the Doge, pointing out that Titian's great name would only shield the inefficiency of Salviati." It might be said that this conduct was self-seeking under the guise of unselfish anxiety for Titian's name, but his offer to execute the picture *without payment* shows his patriotism, while his offer almost if not quite unprecedented in the annals of any art "to remove his own picture if anyone should produce a better representation of the battle shows his disinterestedness."

It would be well if more of our so-called patriotic and charitable acts, great or small, were marked by a similar spirit of self-effacement. It was Tintoretto the layman that painted a *Paradiso* which rivals in conception that of the Religious Angelico, this little anecdote shows a character which partook of the humility and "poverty of spirit of the cloister." No wonder then that Tintoretto's "Last Supper" far exceeds in interest both human and Divine that of Leonardo da Vinci, with which we are so familiar. Some one is needed, some Arundel Society, to render more accessible pictures with so much religious teaching as Tintoretto's. Mr. Holborn says: "It is not strange that the layman and art patron have generally preferred the beautiful and magnificent colouring of Titian, with its slightly meretricious tendencies to the finer and more restrained harmonies of Tintoretto's brush. It requires an even more educated eye to appreciate form than colour, and so the galleries of Europe contain better examples of Titian than of Tintoretto."

Ruskin is a conspicuous example of a layman (but had he not some claims to be considered an artist?) whose judgment was sound on this point.

Mr. Holborn mentions the criticism that Tintoretto could not paint the tenderness of a woman's face. We agree with him that the lovely maternal expression of the Madonna in his "Madonna and Saints" contradicts this idea, though the total absence of all expression whether of shame, penitence or apprehension from the face of his "Woman taken in Adultery" does give some ground for the accusation. The book like all of this series is worth possessing, at the very moderate price of Rs. 5. But why is no volume on Fra Angelico forthcoming?

Cornet Strong of Ireton's Horse, by Dora Greenwell McChesney—(pp. 343) John Lane. London and New York.

THIS story is the last of four which the author has written of the times of the Great Rebellion—we call it so advisedly for it was a rebellion, though the author's sympathies are on the side of the rebels and she prefers such terms as Puritans, or Parliament men. In spite of her Puritan bias, the author depicts some lovable characters on the Royalist side, even, with unusual fairness, two Irish Papists, brother and sister.

The two most striking features of the story are the love-match between this Irish girl and the young Puritan Captain, celebrated be it noted by a Church of England parson, who had enlisted in the Puritan ranks. The other episode as unlikely and much less picturesque is the one that gives its title to the book. The identity of Cornet Strong is well con-

cealed, too well we think since the author wishes us to be touched. We are more than a little revolted to find that the Cornet is a woman; women have fought before now and remained women, when it was in defence of home and children as was often the case in the days of the early settlers in North America; but this Puritan soldier who forgets her sex in her religious zeal and would rather kill her long lost son than disobey what she takes for the Divine Voice, is a justification of Ruskin's dictum "Let a girl study anything you like except theology." Scripture and ancient history give instances of men whose stern sense of religion or patriotism has made them executioners to their own kin; but it was Abraham not Sarah whose obedience was tested with such severity by Him, whose own Son was to be born of a woman. It is a right instinct that makes us feel that Jael and Judith and Charlotte Corday need apologists, and in their case it was their country's enemy they killed, and one does not recollect that any of these women were mothers. Cornet Strong's anguish at discovering her son to be, as she supposes a traitor, and her tenderness to him when the two were prisoners together, do not altogether remove the unpleasant impression. The exclamation of her son's young Irish bride, who alone knows the secret of the Cornet's sex, when the Cornet says: "At the word of God I smote down my first born and the child I had vowed to His service"—is echoed by the reader. "Mother of God! and you that were made a woman!" It is a fine study of character of course and of an unusual character thrown on unusual times, but it does not make pleasant reading, and one is glad that the author adopts the only possible solution of the difficult problem that faced the young couple with such a mother—a soldier's death for Cornet Strong. The illustrations and get-up of the book are charming and the history graphic. The author has seized upon the main characteristics of the Puritan generals and represents them in their conversation with singular art—Cromwell's care for his soldiers, Fairfax's chivalry, Manchester's supineness are all well drawn. Flynt is not a historical character but is excellently drawn as a type of the philosopher, who might almost equally well have joined either side: he affords the touch of humour otherwise almost totally lacking, as it is so apt to be lacking in women's literary work.

Barlasch of the Guard. By H. S. Merriman. London, Macmillan & Co.

IN this book Mr. Merriman lives up to his already great reputation. It is a story of Napoleon's advance and retreat from Moscow, and of the siege of Danzig, in which city the nar-

rative begins and ends. There are many characters claiming our attention—the heroine Désirée Sebastian, daughter of a French nobleman who has escaped the guillotine, passing his last days in plotting against Napoleon; Charles Darragon, her careless husband—who all along plays the traitor's part,—and his friend, Colonel Casimer, no less a traitor. Mathilde, her wilful sister, and Louis Darragon, her husband's loyal sailor cousin,—but before them all Papa Barlasch,—who gives his name to the story stands out in his battered existence, an example of loveliness, and chivalry. Barlasch, at last, gives his life to bring happiness to Désirée—and this is how it came to pass :—

"Where is Barlasch?" she asked, with a sudden sinking at her heart.

"He is coming slowly," replied Louis. "He came slowly behind you all the time, so as to draw the fire away from you."

They turned and waited for Barlasch, who seemed to be going in the wrong direction with an odd vagueness in his movements. Louis ran towards him with Désirée at his heels.

"Ca-y-est," said Barlasch; which cannot be translated and yet has many meanings. "Ca-y-est."

And he sat down slowly in the snow. He sat quite upright and rigid, and in the cold light of the Baltic dawn they saw the meaning of his words. One hand was within his fur coat. He drew it out and concealed it from Désirée behind his back. He did not seem to see them, but presently he put out his hand and lightly touched Désirée. . . "What is she doing?" he asked.

"I cannot see in the dark. Is it not dark? I thought it was. What is she doing? Saying a prayer? What—because I have my affair? Hey, mademoiselle! You may leave it to me. I will get in, I tell you that."

He put his finger to his nose and then shook it from side to side with an air of deep cunning.

"Leave it to me. I shall slip in. Who will stop an old man who has many wounds? Not St. Peter, assuredly. Let him try. And if the good God hears a commotion at the gate, He will only shrug His shoulders. He will say to St. Peter, 'Let pass; it is only Papa Barlasch,' and then there was silence. For Barlasch had gone to his own people."

Malabar and its Folk. By T. K. Gopal Panikkar, B.A. (pp. 215.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.)

AS the introduction by the Rev. F. W. Kellott of the Madras Christian College, says, this book is interesting both as showing the extent in which Indian students are assimilating the sciences of the West and applying it to Indian subjects, and as preserving for us before the advance of education obliterates them, the peculiarities of social life in this unique district of India. These peculiarities are described as only a native of the country and of the district could describe them. It was Sir Henry Maine, who, in the interests of ethnography and the economics which take account of social experiments in the past, before repeating them on a larger scale in the present, called for immediate study of the archaic fragments of ancient society of which India is full.

Mr. Gopal Panikkar's little book deals largely with the life and institutions of the Nairs, by far the most conspicuous amongst the

peoples of Malabar. Some of the chapters have already appeared in various magazines, including our own pages. The account of the origin of Malabar reminds one of the patriotic mythology of "Rule Britannia."

"When Britain first at Heaven's command
Arose from out the azure main,
This was the Charter of her land
And guardian angels sang this strain."

It is recorded in the Puranas that Parasu Rama having destroyed the Kshatriyas twenty-one times, thought of expiating his sin by making a grant of land to the Brahmins. He prayed Varuna, the Hindu Neptune, to create some land for the purpose, and the Arabian Sea which had stretched up to the Ghauts receded at the God's command, leading dry the strip of country now known as Malabar, which has ever since been dominated by a Brahmin aristocracy. Malabar is interesting to us of another faith as having been the scene of the apostolic labour of St. Thomas. The remnants of seven churches are shown in Malabar as owing their foundation to the "doubting Apostle." Malabar was the first part of India trodden by European feet and it was the land of Tippoo, our antagonist at Seringapatam. It is analogous to the Celtic portions of Western Europe in its clan-organization, and the primitive superstitions of the people, their fairies, witches and demons. In scenery it is not altogether unlike Scotland. The effect on Mr. Gopal Panikkar of his youthful studies at the Madras Christian College is evident, not only in his description of Scotch scenery of which a two-day trip down the Caledonian Canal may have been sufficient to make him a judge, but in his description of the Irish peasantry "immersed in the darkest depths of ignorance and superstition"—a statement one would need to spend some time in the country before asserting without quotation marks and references. What dark and magic powers must not the Hindu reader of Mr. Panikkar's pages attribute to the Irish priest, when he reads that "it is said that even Parliamentary elections" (which might well be considered of the earth earthy) "are surreptitiously controlled by the mystic influence which the priests yield over the souls of a people given over to the worst forms of superstition." Again "the Irish tenants are under the oppressive control of their landlords." From what part of the country does the staff of the Madras Christian College hail?

Malabar, Mr. Panikkar states, is as priest-ridden as Ireland—its divine origin is adduced by the natives as the reason, and similarly we might suppose that the great debt Ireland owes to the Saint who banished snakes accounts for the same feature in the green isle. It may be true that the Brahmins amongst the Nairs rule them hand and foot, and also that

landlords practise eviction too readily, but Mr. Panikkar's minute knowledge of Malabar does not warrant such severe indictments of particular classes in a country so little likely to be personally known to him as Ireland. Mr. Panikkar's pages are full of most interesting bits of folklore and of social and domestic details. The descent through mothers obtaining among the Nairs is a peculiar feature. Intermarriages between members of the same clan are prohibited, and hypergamy prevails. In cases where a high caste bride does marry a low caste bridegroom, he must not be present while she is eating. It is curious how in spite of the fact that the instinct of sex is considered the most imperative next to that of self-preservation, the distinction of caste so often proves the stronger. Among all but Christian people, the female sex is the inferior, and as such, women usually prepare the food for and wait on their lords and masters and then humbly eat the remains; but in this case it is the low caste man whose touch during meals would ruin his wife's caste. Such marriages must be rare.

Malabar drama is described as only an Indian could describe it; it is a dumb show, all the musical part being rendered by singers who are not actors. It is a counterpart of our old mysteries and morality plays: like the actors at Ober-Ammergau, those who take the part of the sacred personages represented are held in great respect by the devout of Malabar.

Mr. Panikkar notes that horrible incidents involving the mutilation of some personage are usually only described as in the Greek drama—but that occasionally they are represented with the faithfulness of the *Adelphi*, and that in this case the actor gets extra remuneration from his audience presumably for the extra trouble of his make-up, but possibly from the popular love of things horrible. The actors are "strolling players." Holy places are selected for the performance. The life of Krishna takes eight days to represent, and on the ninth, with an instinctive aversion to ending with the death of the divine personality which gives a hint of the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection, on the ninth day his birth is again represented. Ordinary plays begin about 10 P. M. and end at 1 A. M., the charge for the day's performance being some Rs. 18. The various festivals of the country are well described and so are the popular religious ideas. It is a very interesting little book.

Selections from English Literature for the use of Schools in India,
edited by Cecil M. Barrow, M.A., Principal, Victoria College,
Palghat. (Macmillan & Co.) (pp. 192.)

THIS handy little school-book has been compiled for the use of
Sixth Forms in Indian schools. It contains prose ex-

tracts from such authors as Lamb, Miss Yonge, Thomas Hughes and Miss Edgeworth, with selections from Shakespeare, Goldsmith, Scott, Macaulay and Arnold. Macaulay's "Armada" is the poem selected, a sufficiently difficult one on account of its many geographical allusions. One is Goth enough to wonder however whether selections from good present day newspapers and magazines would not tend to cure the tendency to "babu-English," rather than the somewhat stilted periods of the good Maria Edgeworth or even of our dear old friend Charlotte Yonge. "Journalese" is frequently as objectionable as babu-English, but a few articles do appear in good English in both Home and Indian newspapers. Some well-reported speeches from the House might even reckon as "literature."

Sand Buried Ruins of Khotan. Personal narrative of a Journey of Archæological and Geographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan by M. Amel Stein. T. Fisher Unwin, London.

THIS is an expensive book, Rs. 18-6-0, and M. Stein apologises to us, for not sending a copy, on account of its cost. He however sends his Introduction, "with the author's compliments;" and as the subject of which it treats is of great antiquarian interest, we are glad to call our reader's attention to this substantial and solid volume.

The author is a member of the Educational Department of India, and Inspector of Schools in the Punjab, and the journey described in the pages of the book was carried out in the year 1900-01, under the auspices of the Government of India. Its main object being the systematic exploration of ancient remains about Khotan and in the adjoining parts of the great desert of Chinese Turkestan.

The idea of archæological work about Khotan first suggested itself to M. Stein in the spring of 1897, in consequence of some remarkable antiquarian acquisitions from that region and by the discovery among the papers left by the distinguished French traveller, M. Dutreuil de Rhins of fragments of ancient birch-bark leaves, which had been acquired in the vicinity of Khotan. These proved to be a Buddhist text in an early Indian script and language, and were soon recognised as the oldest Indian manuscript then known, going back by the first centuries of our era.

Later on fragments of paper manuscripts, ancient pottery and similar relics came into the hands of Russians and English agents in Central Asia and found their way into various museums. While these materials accumulated, no reliable information was ever forthcoming as to the exact origin of the finds, or the true character of the ruined sites which were supposed to have furnished them. From this resulted M. Stein's resolution that

their full historical and antiquarian value could never be realized without systematical researches on the spot.

Lord Curzon thoroughly entered into the proposed exploration, and a resolution in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture provided for the author's deputation on special duty to Chinese Turkestan, for one year, and a grant of £600 was made to meet the estimated expenditure on the journey and explorations.

Colonel St. George Gore, R.E., C.S.I., Surveyor-General of India, also furthered this object, by deputing one of the native sub-surveyors of his Department, with a special grant of £133 in order to cover additional expenses. With this help, a continuous system of surveys was carried on during the whole of the author's travels in Chinese Turkestan.

We here allow Mr. Stein to record in his own words—his experiences

The ruined sites explored by me have more than justified the hope which led me to Khotan and into its desert. Scattered over an area which in a straight line extends for more than three hundred miles from west and east, and dating back to very different periods, these ruins throughout reveal to us a uniform and well-defined civilisation. It is easy to recognise now that this bygone culture rested mainly on Indian foundations. But there has also come to light unmistakable evidence of other powerful influences, both from the West and from China, which helped to shape its growth and to invest it with an individual character and fascination of its own.

The origin and history of the culture that once flourished in Buddhist Khotan, are faithfully reflected in the remarkable series of sculptures and paintings which the ancient shrines and dwelling places, after long centuries of burial beneath the dunes, have yielded up. Exact archaeological evidence enables us to determine the various periods at which these settlements were invaded by the desert sand. Though these periods range from the third to the close of the eighth century of our era yet the preponderance of Indian art influences is attested by the latest as well as by the earliest of these finds. The rich statuary of the Rawak Stupa Court, and the decorative wood carvings of the ancient site beyond Niya, reproduce with astonishing fidelity the style and motives of that fascinating 'Græco-Buddhist' art which, fostered by Hellenistic-Roman influences grew up and flourished in Gandhara (the present Peshawar Valley) and other neighbouring tracts in the extreme North-West of India, during the centuries immediately preceding and following the commencement of our era. Yet when we turn from those remains to the frescoes on the walls of the small Buddhist shrines at Dandan-Uiliq, dating some five hundred years later, we recognise, with equal distinctness the leading features of ancient Indian pictorial art as preserved for us in the Ajanta Cave paintings.

The records of the Chinese Annals plainly showed us that for considerable periods under both the Later Han and the Tang dynasties China had maintained effective political control over the kingdom of Khotan. My excavations have confirmed these records, and from the finds of Chinese documents on wood or paper, Chinese coins, articles of manufacture etc., it has become abundantly clear that Chinese civilisation no less than political ascendancy asserted there a powerful influence. Seeing how close for centuries were the relations between Khotan and the great empire eastwards in matters of administration, trade and industrial intercourse, we cannot feel surprised to find a connection in art also attested by manifest traces. It is China which in this direction appears the main borrower; for besides such distinct historical evidence as the notice about a scion of the royal house of Khotan, whom the Annals name as the founder of a new pictorial school in China in the seventh century A. D., there is much to suggest that the Indian element which so conspicuously pervades the whole Buddhist art of the Far East had to a very large extent found its way thither

through Khotan. Yet a careful analysis of the composition and drawing in more than one of the frescoes and painted panels of Dandan-Uiliq will show that Chinese taste also had its influence on the later art of Khotan.

For us still greater interest must attach to the convincing evidence disclosed as to the question how far into Central Asia the classical art of the West had penetrated during the first centuries of our era. We see its triumphant advance to Khotan half-way between Western Europe and Peking, strikingly demonstrated by the remarkable series of classical seals impressed on clay and yet preserved in wonderful freshness, which still adhere to a number of the many ancient documents on wood discovered at the sand-buried site beyond Niya. We cannot make sure in each case where the well-modelled figures of Greek deities, such as Pallas Athene and Eros or the classically treated portrait heads that appear in these seals were actually engraved. But it is certain that the seals themselves were currently used by officials and others resident within the kingdom of Khotan, and that classical models greatly influenced the work of local lapidaries and die-sinkers. The remarkable diversity of the cultural influences which met and mingled at Khotan during the third century A.D. is forcibly brought home to us by these records from a remote Central-Asian settlement inscribed on wooden tablets in an Indian language and writing and issued by officials with strangely un-Indian titles, whose seals carry us to the classical world far away in the West.

The imitation of early Persian art which, five centuries later, we find unmistakable traces in some of the paintings of sacred Buddhist subjects recovered from the ruins of Dandan-Uiliq, is a curious parallel and from a historical point of view almost equally instructive.

The dwelling places, shrines, etc., of those ancient settlements had, no doubt, before the desert sand finally buried them, been cleared by the last inhabitants and others of everything that possessed intrinsic value. But much of what they left behind, though it could never tempt the treasure-seekers of succeeding ages, has acquired for us exceptional value. The remains of ancient furniture such as the wooden chair; the shreds of silks and other woven fabrics; the tatters of antique rugs; the fragments of glass, metal and pottery ware; the broken pieces of domestic and agricultural implements, and the manifold other relics however humble which had safely rested in the sand-buried dwellings and their deposits of rubbish—these all help to bring vividly before our eyes details of ancient civilisation that without the preserving force of the desert would have been lost for ever.

But however interesting and instructive such details may be, they would by themselves not permit us with any degree of critical assurance to reconstruct the life and social organisation which once flourished at these settlements, or trace the historical changes which they have witnessed. The hope of ever elucidating such questions was dependent on the discovery of written records, and it is fortunate indeed that, at the very sites which proved richest in those relics of material culture the finds of ancient manuscripts and documents were also unexpectedly ample and varied. The Sanskrit manuscripts excavated at Dandan-Uiliq acquaint us with that class of canonical Buddhist literature which we may assume to have been most cherished in the monastic establishments of ancient Khotan. The series of Chinese documents discovered in ruins of the same site is of particular historical interest. The exact dates recorded in them (781-790 A.D.) in combination with other evidence, clearly indicate the close of the eighth century as the time when the settlement was deserted while their contents throw curious side-lights on the economical and political conditions of the territory immediately before Chinese suzerain power finally abandoned these regions to Tibetan invasion. Sanskrit manuscripts and records in Chinese mark foreign imports in the culture of Khotan. All the more interest attaches to the numerous documents and fragmentary texts from the same site which show an otherwise unknown language, manifestly non-Sanskritic yet written in Indian Brahmi characters; for it appears very probable that in them we have records of the tongue actually spoken at that period by the indigenous population of Khotan.

We see Sanskrit, Chinese and the same non-Sanskritic language, similarly represented among the literary finds from the ruined temple of Enderi, in the extreme east of the territory explored. But here in addition there appears

Tibetan, as if to remind us of the prominent part which Tibet too has played in the history of Central Asia. A curious Chinese graffito found on the wall of the Endere temple clearly refers to the Tibetans, and gives a date which, since its recent examination by Sinologist, can be safely read as 719 A.D. It is probable that these finds of Tibetan manuscripts are directly connected with that extension of Tibetan power into Eastern Turkestan which the Chinese Annals record for that very period.

But much older and of far greater importance than any of these finds are the hundreds of Kharoshthi documents on wood and leather brought to light from the ruined houses and the rubbish heaps of the ancient settlement discovered beyond the point where the Niya River now loses itself in the desert. That peculiar writing material (so much older than the paper of my other literary finds), their early Indian script and language, and the surprisingly perfect state of preservation of many among them, would alone have sufficed to invest these documents with special interest. But their exceptional historical value is derived from the fact that they prove to contain records written as early as the third century of our era, and dealing with a wide range of matters of administration and private life.

A remarkable journey, with remarkable results.

The Method of Christ as traced in Chemistry, Physics, and Spectrum Analysis by John Coutts. (Hygienic Publishing Agency, 4, Duke Street, Charing Cross.)

THIS is a pamphlet devoted to the tracing of spiritual analogies in scientific research. Indeed the author would persuade us, apparently, that these things are truths and not mere analogies, positive revelation of Almighty God to men. It is a pity that he does not use more plainness of speech. Paragraph after paragraph is piled with sounding scientific and theological phrases, but the meaning of them is often hard to see. The author is, in great part, as a man that speaks in an unknown tongue, and the plain man must needs be to him "as a barbarian, and he that speaketh a barbarian" unto the other.

It is doubtful whether many thoughtful Christian people would accept as more than a poetical conception "that the thoughts of God are the laws of Nature," or would allow that the way of life "that will lead men to God, life, and immortality. . . . "May be summed up in the three realms of Experience, Science, and of Divine Wisdom."

The following is a summary of the author's thoughts as to "the method of Christ as traced in spectrum analysis," and may serve as an illustration of the way his analogies are worked, or dragged out. He likens the spectrum to a Divine ladder that reaches from earth to heaven. "It descends to the earth's centre, to that point where gravitation, as the strong arm of God, keeps all things in their places; it ascends to the very throne of God in His Grace . . . drawing all men to Himself." The Divisions of this heavenly ladder he traces thus:—the third division, which is the visual coloured part, he likens "to the spirit of power in man that looks out upon the universe." Below

this, the second division, is dark, "but it is that division upon which there is manifested heat—the portion beyond the heat ends the spectrum; and, strange to say, the power that resides here may represent gravitation." Going up the scale, the fourth division is actinic, and "is in harmony with that part of man's nature thought of as the mind or memory." The fifth is luminescent or fluorescent: "the analogy with man is in his intellectual nature." The sixth division "may be conceived as crystalline. Law as the result of light seems to express the conception, and the analogy in man is his moral nature." The seventh "would seem to speak of electricity and ether . . . here is the realm of Christ's Grace and Mercy." The eighth division coincides with magnetism. Of this the author writes previously in his chapter on physics—"the all important matter at this critical point is the relations of the man to the Magnet. The circle of light, the forces of the Universe centre in Him. He draws all to Himself." . . . Surely these things are fantastic, to say the least.

"*Tales of Mariada Raman*" (by P. Ramachandra Rao, G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras).

IN this book we have twenty-one short anecdotes of an Indian 'Solomon,' who, as a lad, is raised from the playground to the judicial bench by a witty judgment and the caprice of his royal master; which caprice seems certainly, in this case, to have been justified by the subsequent career of its object as set forth in the remaining anecdotes. The stories are of the shortest. They are naturally Indian in flavour, and some are better read to oneself than out loud; but the cleverness of many of them is undeniable, and, even if one or two appear coarse, their coarseness is incidental and not the object of the story.

Tambil Vadik by Babu Durga Charan Rakshit.

THIS book deals with the caste of traders: the author's object is to prove that these belong to ten Vaisya class and not to the Sudra class: as Vaisyas they have a claim to the brahmanical thread.

Bharat Pradaksini, by the same author, treats of travels in India originally written for different newspapers and now compiled in the form of a book. It is interesting reading.

The Indian Church Directory for 1903. Being a Book of Reference for facts connected with the Clergy and the work of the Church of England in India, Ceylon and Burma, with a Digest of Rules and Regulations for the Clergy. Calcutta, 6, Ballygunge, Circular Road.

OUR notice of this Directory is late, because it was issued late. The value of a Directory, especially if it contains a Calendar, consists in its punctual appearance. In the present instance there were extenuating circumstances, and we have the promise of an early issue in 1904.

This Directory is absolutely necessary to all who wish to know the full extent of the work of the Church in India, containing, as it does, details as to the Clergy, Lay Workers, Societies, Associations, Guilds, Charitable Societies, Funds, Colleges and Schools, Stations and Churches in each Diocese.

It also has information of general usefulness concerning the whole Province of India and Ceylon, together with a complete Alphabetical List, with details as to degree, date of ordination of every Clergyman in India.

Part II—Rules and Regulations for the Clergy is no less important—and is composed of six parts, viz, (1) Ecclesiastical Obligations; (2) Civil Service Regulations; (3) Cemeteries and Churches; (4) Army Regulations, India; (5) Miscellaneous Rules; (6) Diocesan Rules.

There is an interesting table showing the increase in the Episcopate of the Province. In 1814 there was one Bishop for the whole of India, Ceylon, Burmah and Australia; and this was the state of affairs for twenty-one years, when Madras was made the seat of a Bishop, and two years later, Bombay.

Colombo was created in 1845, and for thirty-two years more things remained at this ebb. Lahore and Rangoon came into existence in 1877, Travancore in 1879, Chota-Nagpur in 1890, Lucknow in 1893, Tinnevely in 1896 and Nagpur 1903—making in all eleven members of the Episcopal Synod. We learn from another table that there are 849 Clergy of the Church of England in the Province of India and Ceylon,—the largest number, 138 being in the Diocese of Madras—and the smallest, 24, in the new Diocese of Nagpur. The list of retired Chaplains numbers 148.

"A Dream of Realms beyond us" by Adair Welcker. 6th American Edition. San Francisco, Cabery & Co.

IN this book, to the best of our honest and deliberate judgment, is neither sense, learning, effect, imagination, passion nor invention. That it has reached a sixth edition only shows how many people are distrustful of their own common sense, and,

being persuaded by the cool vanity of the author that stuff like this is sublime poetry and prophetic utterance, are ready not only to accept the book, but to pretend to understand, and even to praise it.

East and West, Vol. 11. No. 23, September 1903. 21, Paternoster Row, London. Caxton Works, Bombay.

THIS Magazine,—the current number of which lies before us, is in style, and outward dress as well as in matter, well to the front, among Indian Magazines. Its cover, with the name *East and West*, in bold letters and high relief we do not think can be beaten, in attractiveness, by any other Magazine that we know of, either in England or in this country.

The September number contains some articles of note—among them *India's Economic Problem* by Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I. *Keshub Chunder Sen* by Frances Power Cobbe, and *The Caste Codes and Popular Theology of India* by J. F. Hewitt, I.C.S. The article by Miss Cobbe is especially interesting, as it contains in Keshub Chunder Sen's own letters, the vindication of his action, in the marriage of his daughter, to the Maharajah of Cooch Behar.

We quote here Miss Cobbe's opening words, or they seem to express exactly the real truth concerning, Keshub Chunder Sen's character—and the secret of the seeming failure of his best endeavours.

"It would be a great mistake for any one to treat the career of Keshub Chunder Sen as, on the whole, a failure. His earnest goodness, the purity of all his aspirations and his fervent piety, must have helped to kindle in many hearts—as they did in mine—the sparks of devotion and faith. How much of actual religious zeal now exists in the Brahma Somaj, I am not in a position to judge; but whatever be the height of the sacred flame of such sentiments in that body, much of it must, I am convinced, be due to him who lighted it up with his ardour thirty years ago.

Yet whatever still remains of his influence, one of the saddest disappointments of life to many of us was the break-down of our hopes of what Keshub was destined to do before he passed from the world. To some of us he seemed the "later Luther," who would purify India from idolatry and create a new Reformation. Others of us thought of him as one of those who (as the old Chaldean Oracle said) "receive truth through themselves;" and whose transparent spirituality enabled him to convey to more mundane souls the direct and highest teaching of religion. But, suddenly and wholly unexpectedly, a cloud gathered over him; he passed under a shadow, and, before it had lifted, death had borne him away from earth, leaving his work abruptly ended.

In looking over a collection of old letters addressed to me by many eminent men and women of the past Victorian age, it has struck me that it would only be an act of loyalty to the memory of my old friend, if I should publish, in his own country, some of his communications to me, and especially, his final letters of 1878, telling me at full length the motives for his conduct in the one questionable incident of his life, namely, his consent to the marriage of his daughter with the Rajah of Cooch Behar.

That he considered that the course he adopted was incumbent on him as a public man and was a part of his public duty, is made perfectly plain by his

remarkable letter of 26th April 1878; and I shall be glad if the appearance of it in *East & West*, may serve to clear away whatever mists still hang over the memory of this good and pure-hearted man. In a recent article concerning him in the same magazine, although a high eulogium winds up the memoir, no effort has been made to vindicate his action, or to explain what really happened on the occasion which gave a handle to misconstruction. I believe and hope that his own simple account of the matter, given to a friend like myself in whom he placed confidence, will be his best apology, if absolute justification be not available. Not for the first or last time alas! in the world's history may it have happened that grievous mistakes and downfall have followed from the ethical error that *Social* duty comes before *Personal*, and that a public advantage may lawfully be sought, or allowed to override, the soul's own law of Truth, and Purity and Justice; in other words, that it is ever possible for us to *do* good in any more effectual way than by *being* good to the summit of our moral ideal.

Notwithstanding the unique elevation of Keshub's whole character, it may be admitted, perhaps, that he was somewhat deficient in firmness—in what we English are wont to speak of as “backbone.” He would (I have no shadow of doubt) have gone bravely to the stake as a martyr for his creed; but he could, and perhaps did, suffer himself to be overborne by the will of high and imposing officials and their persuasions. This, I know, to have been the opinion of many of his warmest English admirers. I have been myself inclined to wish that instead of a high born Bengali gentleman, with (as he told me), a pedigree of 800 years, he had had a little infusion of the blood of sturdy Saxons or stiff-necked Scots! But I am still more disposed to think that his fatal practice of abstinence from needful food and sleep, that “culpably weakening of our powers entrusted to us for good” (as Zoroaster describes asceticism), had not a little share in his weakness.

The career of this very remarkable man was cut short a few years after his return from England by an early death. I believe he had taken to ascetic practices, fasting and watching, against which I had most urgently warned him, seeing his tendency towards them. I had argued with him that, not only were they totally foreign to the spirit of simple Theism, but dangerous to a man who, living habitually in the highest realms of human emotion, needed, *all the more for that reason*, that the physical basis of his life should be absolutely sound and strong, and not subject to the variabilities and possible hallucinations attendant on abstinence. My friendly counsels were of no avail. Keshub became, I believe, somewhat too near a ‘Yogi’ (if I rightly understand that word) and was almost worshipped by his congregation of Brahmos. The marriage of his daughter, who has since visited England, to the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, involved very painful discussions about the legal age of the bride and the ceremonies of a Hindu marriage, which were insisted on by the bridegroom's mother; and the last year or two of Keshub's life were, I fear, darkened by the secessions from his church which followed an event otherwise gratifying.”

The Hindustan Review and Kayastha Samachar, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2. July and August 1903. Edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar-at-Law, 7, Elgin Road, Allahabad.

THIS is a double number of the *Hindustan Review*, and it appears with a new cover, and much improved type and paper. The Manager—in a fly-leaf—makes his apology for the late issue, and explains why a small extra postage-charge is added to the yearly subscription. We are compelled to say that he does not err on the side of modesty;—should it not be for others to call it a ‘high class Journal’ and give expression to the words (We print them exactly as they appear), “We claim

that . . . the *Review* is the BEST and at the same time the CHEAPEST monthly Magazine in India."

However, we cordially confess that it is the cheapest, and we would also say one of the best,—in style and outward appearance we prefer *East and West*, a short notice of which appears above.

With this friendly criticism, we wish to congratulate the *Hindustan Review* in its new dress, and record that it is a marvel for the price, in quality and quantity.

Among the articles in this number is one on the *Labour Problem in Southern India*, by Mr. G. Subramania Iyar, B.A., and the chief thing that strikes us in this article is the unwilling testimony of the writer, to the levelling influence as far as caste is concerned, of the Christian Missionary, and the great increase, in that part of India, of the Christian population. Here are his words on the latter point :

"There is no part of India where the population of Native Christians has recently increased more rapidly than in Southern India, and unlike those in most parts of Northern India, the converts to Christianity in this Presidency are recruited almost entirely from the classes of Hindus which are lowest in the social scale. These classes being exceedingly poor, it is no wonder that they are easily tempted to quit the fold where their ancestors have lived for centuries and to enter that of Christian faith in times of difficulty. And such occasions having recurred several times within the last quarter of a century, the Native Christian population has increased with striking rapidity. In the year 1891, Native Christians numbered 8,79,437 in this Presidency, and this has increased since then to 10,38,854 in 1901, which is an increase of 18·1 per cent. In the decade between 1881 and 1891 the increase among them was even more striking, being 48·8 per cent. During the last thirty years it has amounted to 99 per cent., against an increase in the population as a whole of 22·1 per cent. In other words, as the last Census Report puts it, the Native Christians have multiplied four and five times as fast as the population generally."

The concluding article in this number, *Social Intercourse in India*, by Mr. Mohamed Ali, B.A., (Oxon) is laboriously clever, but its tone and temper will not do much to promote social intercourse in India between Englishmen and Indians. We quote the concluding sentences—they will teach many of our readers something they did not know before, as to the application of the magic word 'mister' to natives of this country—and also we hope do something to banish from the vocabulary of the intelligent Englishman, the absurd use of the word 'native,' as applied to Indians.

"The decision of the Government on the question of forms of address is not without a touch of humour. It has been ruled that those Indians who have been to England may claim the distinguished and the distinguishing title of "Mr.," but those who have not been to the Sacred Isles should content themselves with the picturesque and oriental "Munshi" or "Babu." So it is often a matter of satisfaction and consolation to an enlightened and self-sacrificing father to know that though he is too old to aspire to it, his son may achieve the distinction of becoming a "Mister." Well has the Persian poet said, "*Agar padar na tawan kun pasar tamam kunad.*" (The son may complete what the father left unfinished.) Another little word has been

the source of no end of mischief. Sensitive Indians whom constant insults have not turned pachydermous, object to the use of the word "Native" as applied to them. It may be asked whether a *Native Gentleman* is not a contradiction in terms. If it did not imply a degraded style of life, an absence of all refinement and an affinity to brutes, it would not be applied to the savages of Africa, Australia and America. Ambiguity cannot soberly be pleaded as an excuse, for it is not right that Indians should suffer for the geographical mistake of Columbus who thought America was the Western coast of India and called its inhabitants Red Indians.

A story is told of an Indian youth in England who was asked by an Anglo-Indian worthy whether many "Natives" attended a certain *soiree* at the Imperial Institute. "Quite two hundred of them, Sir," said the youth. "What" said the worthy, "two hundred of your countrymen in London?" "A thousand pardons" apologised the youth, "I thought you referred to *your* countrymen!" Since then one Englishman less calls the people of this benighted land "Natives."

Such are the minor details of social intercourse between Englishmen and Indians. It was expected that the advent of the *Mem Sahib* would usher in a brighter era for society, for in her case at least there was not even the bugbear of *Purdah*. But the curl of her upper lip and the elevation of her nasal organ are but too slightly indicative of her attitude. For her and her partner in life that attitude is easy enough. It is the position of us Anglophiles who find much to admire and to imitate in English men and English women that is hard to retain and still harder to defend. Like a famous French diplomat, to the English we appear as rank anglophobes while our own less moderate countrymen designate us by the no less distasteful title of Anglomaniacs. "Between the D—l and deep Sea."

The Indian Review, Vol. 4, No. 9, September. G. A. Nateson & Co. Madras.

THIS *Review* fills an important place among Indian magazines and we might, with perfect justice, call it the *Indian Review of Reviews*, containing as it does (in addition to original matters) so much information, from other Indian magazines and papers, not easily accessible to the ordinary reader. We are sorry to see a curiously ignorant paper, from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, quoted in its column. The name of the article is "Wanton Waste of forty-five lakhs a year"—the 'wanton waste' is the ecclesiastical establishment in India. It is so ignorant that no educated man will be led away by its statistics, e.g., what do these entries mean, under the heading of yearly payments. "Forty Junior Chaplains in Field Service Rs. 20,000." "Fifty Senior Chaplains for hospitals, sanctuaries and cemeteries, Rs. 40,000," and many others. The whole question of an Indian ecclesiastical establishment has been thoroughly gone into by Sir Theodore Hope; and it is a known fact, that, the European tax-payer in India pays five times as much to the support of Hindu temples and Mahomedan mosques, as the Hindu or Mahomedan does to the Christian ecclesiastical establishment.

The proportion, as to this payment is made with some reservation, as the writer of this notice is away from books; but, this much is quite certain, whatever proportions it is, it is all in favour of the native of India.

The Indian Antiquary : A Journal of Oriental Research. Edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., C.I.E., Lieutenant-Colonel, Indian Army, Part CDVI. August 1903. Bombay. Education Society's Press, Byculla.

THE August number of the above Journal contains some of its most interesting information in its *Correspondence and Notes and Queries*.

The opening paper, *Some doubtful copper coins of Southern India* by Robert Sewell, M.R.A.S., I.C.S., (retired) is illustrated by three beautifully engraved plates representing one hundred and twenty-two copper coins. In Southern India there are an immense number and variety of small copper coins, and Mr. Sewell is of opinion that, as they cannot be classified as belonging to any known dynasty or state—they must have been privately struck at the principal great temples. Just as every leading town in England at the close of the eighteenth century had its local pennies and half-pennies, so, probably, there were local issues of small copper coins in South India, generally connected with the most revered shrines, and circulating in their vicinity.

There is an interesting account of a Cave Burial in Baluchistan. Mr. R. Hughes Buller, Superintendent, Imperial Gazetteer, Baluchistan, while travelling in the Jhālāwān country to the south-east of Kalāt, with Lieutenant E. O. Macleod, 1st Sikhs, encamped near the small village of Pandrāva. Whilst there Mr. Macleod visited a curious vaulted cave near the village, and the following is the description of the place and cave :—

"Pandrāva is a pretty place on a basin of the hills with plenty of water from two springs on the west. The village, which contains five or six Banniah's shops and about fifty houses, is situated round an elevated rock known as Ambir. There is much cultivation and plenty of trees.

Due west of the village, at a distance of about a quarter of a mile, is an extraordinary cave situated in the skirt of the hill. All the ground round is rolling, and in the side of one of the folds is a hole just big enough for a large man to squeeze through. It is said that this hole was uncovered and exposed to view by a flood of erosion some fifty or sixty years ago. On entering the hole which is almost in the centre, one finds oneself in an underground vault consisting of a front chamber, and two recesses. The breadth of the chamber is about eighteen feet, and the length to the back of each chamber about sixteen feet. The recesses are round, with domed roofs, and the front chamber has a domed roof. The whole appears to have been hewn out of the conglomerate rock. At the left-hand corner of the centre partition is a heap of bones, and with this exception there is nothing in the left-hand recess.

In the right-hand recess in the centre a niche has been cut out of the rock, about six inches by three inches by three feet. In it there are twenty-five skulls; one of them is a small one and appears to be that of a child. The rest appear to be those of adults. There are also the ribs and leg-bones of a child down to the knees. In the centre of the right-hand recess lies a bed which, according to the country-people, when the vault was just opened, supported a skeleton. The strings of the bed have now, however, given way, and the skeleton, which is evidently that of a man, is lying on its back, on the ground below the bed. There are holes, which appear to be those of a bullet or arrow on the right temple, and at the left side of the back of the skull.

Lying near the bed is the skeleton of a large dog, which the people say was tied to the bed or *chârpâi* by a string when first observed. Between the bed and the back of the recess are a few bones. The bed is firmly made of rounded wood (including the frame) and is still in good condition. Lieutenant Macleod seated himself on it when exploring the cave. Over the ribs and head of the corpse was a coarse cloth, thin, and of a dirty colour.

The natives point to another place about twenty yards away and say that there is another vault there in which women's skeletons are to be found. No one living appears to have ever entered the second cave, if it exists as alleged.

The natives hold the place in considerable awe, and have a theory that the place was the scene of a fight. The whole vault was extraordinarily symmetrical."

The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Guzerat. Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. IX. The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarât, Baroda Territories. By J. Burgess, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., and Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., London: 1903.

OF all the branches of the fine arts, architecture is the only one in which the Hindus had made the greatest progress, as is evidenced by the remains, that exist at the present day, of the numerous temples, palaces, monasteries, and other structures that were erected by their ancestors throughout the length and breadth of India. They had developed different styles of architecture and had a literature of their own on that subject. Among other styles of architecture, the one that prevailed in Gujarât generally in the olden times, and more especially in Northern Gujarât and Rajputana, is that which is known to Europeans under the name of the Jaina or north-western style of Hindu architecture. This style, though Hindu in

its inception, was subsequently, much modified in details by the Jainas according to their peculiar tastes and necessities, until it acquired that chastity and elegance of character which it, now, possesses as its distinguishing features. In its developed form, it was, subsequently, adopted and copied by the orthodox Hindus.

The Jainas, who were the greatest temple-builders of Western India, had also a literature of their own on the subject of the art of building, which consists of such old works on civil and religious architecture as the *Prāsāda-maṇḍala Rāja-vallabha*, &c., which are preserved, with jealous care, in their temple-libraries.

There was a particular class or guild of artisans, known as Salāts or builders, who follow architecture as their profession and who appear to have always worked, as they do even at the present day, equally for all sects of Hindus. But they owed much of their employment to the Jainas, who have, always, possessed immense wealth and have spent much of it in building temples and dedicating images of the Jainas and Tirthankaras which were considered acts of great piety and merit. They have obtained much of their knowledge of the principles of architecture from traditions handed down from generation to generation, the works mentioned *supra*, of which they have got with them rough Gujarāṭi abstracts for purposes of reference, as also from instructions received at the hands of certain Jaina professors of the building art.

Gujarāt is now the only district in Western India where the art of architecture is still practised as a flourishing branch of industry. But, even there, the style of architecture has become degenerated, owing, perhaps, to the Salāt's ignorance of Sanskrit in which the original literature of the subject is embodied, to the loss of interest in the older methods of building which are so different from those of the European art of architecture, which latter is exercising such a dominating influence on all modern buildings throughout British India, and also to the fanatical tyranny of the Mahomedan Conquerors of India who prohibited the building of all beautiful religious edifices by the Hindus.

However, such of the remains and ruins of the temples, *Kirtistambhas* or ornamental arches, reservoirs of water, wells and similar other structures of Northern Gujarāt, as exist at the present day, are sufficient to excite the curiosity and admiration of the Europeans and other lovers of the beautiful in art, by reason of the grandeur of their design, the intricacy of their details, and the delicacy and finish of their ornaments. Such remains exist at Anahilavāda or the modern Pātan, which was once the capital of the Chāvādā

and Solanki dynasties and is now one of the oldest and most famous cities of Gujarât, Siddhapur, Modherâ, Vadnagar, Deimâl, Kambi-Solanki, Vâghel, etc., Munjapur, Lotesvara, Sankhesvara, etc., Chandrávati, Roho, and Sarotrâ; Sûnak and Kasarâ; Rulâvi, Sauderâ, Mânod, and Dhinoj, etc., and Târinga, etc. The thanks of the learned world are due to the Government of India which has always evinced an anxious care to preserve these beautiful remains of antiquity and to publish sumptuously illustrated and scientifically accurate descriptions thereof, through the agency of its staff of efficient archæological surveyors who are ransacking every nook and corner of India to find out the crumbling and decaying relics of the past. Messrs. Burgess and Cousens of the Archæological Survey of Western India, have carefully examined the aforementioned antiquarian remains of Northern Gujarât and have published the results of their study thereof in the beautifully illustrated quarto volume of report which is the subject of this Review and which is a splendid outturn of the printer's, draughtsman's and photographer's arts. There are, in this volume, 118 pages of beautifully printed descriptive letterpress, accompanied by 111 exquisite plates and 11 illustrations in the text, which faithfully portray the various architectural antiquities, sculptures and specimens of stone and wood-carvings, dealt within the text of the Report.

According to accepted traditions, the city of Anahilavâda is said to have been founded by Vanarâja, the founder of the Châvadvâ dynasty, in 765 A.D. The antiquarian remains at this place fall under the three heads of Hindu, Jaina and Mahomedan. The iconoclastic proclivities of the Mahomedan invaders of Gujarât and the ruthless ravages of time have so denuded modern Pattan of almost every structure of antiquity that there remains, at the present day, only a few fragmentary relics which may be ascribed to the Hindu period and workmanship. Among these are the remains of the Râni Vâv or step-well ascribed to Udayamatî, the Queen of Bhimadeva I; the Sahasraliṅga Talâv said to have been constructed by Siddharâja Jayasîmha; and certain other old images, pillars and fragments of sculptured slabs. The Jaina antiquities include the temples of that faith, of which the majority is of a later date than the fifteenth century A.D. The Mahomedan antiquities consist of the Gumada, Ghazni and certain other mosques; the Khân Sarovar tank; Bâhâdur Singh's well and specimens of old wood-carvings, all of which date from the latter part of the thirteenth century downwards.

Of the aforesaid remains at Anahilavâda, the Hindu antiquities do not call for any special notice. Among the Jaina antiquarian remains, the inner balcony (depicted in Plate IV) of the Vâdîpura-

Pārsvanātha Temples and its elaborately and beautifully carved roof (Plate XXI) are remarkable. "The roof is decorated in concentric circles with figures and bands of ornaments, and has a lotus-shaped pendant hanging from the apex. Eight large bracket figures are placed at equal intervals round the inside. These are female musicians and dancers ; and between each pair of these is a seated male figure with two attendants. These are the asthadikpālas or eight regents of the points of the compass and are arranged in the ceiling according to their proper quarters, and each with his *vahana* or conveyance carved below his seat. Some fine carving, now much injured, has filled up the corners or spandrels of the octagonal roof, between the lowest circle of the dome and the lintels. Under the dome and helping to support it are four balcony windows, projecting inwards from each side of the apartment, which are very delicately worked. Lower still is a dado running round the four walls, and carved with musicians and dancers in niches, with rows of geese and other ornamental carving below. The rosettes in the spaces between the brackets below the window sills are rich and effective. All the carving, designs and figures, in this wood-work, are precisely the same as are found in stone. With the Hindu workman, whatever was practicable in stone, seems to have been regarded as equally so in wood, and *vice versâ*."

Fine wood-carving is one of the industries of Gujārāt. The façades of houses in that province are decorated with delicately-carved wood-work, of which many beautiful specimens are to be found at Paṭṭan. The specimens reproduced in Plates XXII and XXXVI are well worthy of careful examination ; and the ornamental bands thereof appear like fine old lace of fairy design and elaborate workmanship.

Among the Mahomedan antiquities of Paṭṭan, may be mentioned the Gumada Musjid, which is remarkable for elaborate designs in its niches (Plate XXV) and for the three windows filled with stone lattice-work, of which two are represented in Plate XXVI (figs. 1 and 2), shewing patterns of perforated work similar to those to be found at Ahmedābād. The carved roof-panel and ceiling (reproduced in Plates XV and XVI) of Shaikh Farid's Tomb at Paṭṭan, are also beautiful specimens of their kind.

The principal antiquarian remains at Siddhapur appertain to the famous Saiva temple known as the Rudra-mahālaya which was dedicated to Rudramahākālā or Mahādeva, who was also called Rudra, "the Howler, the Terrible." It was begun by Mularāja about A.D. 944 and completed by Siddharāja Jayasinha about 1143 A.D. This splendid temple was ruthlessly destroyed by the Mahommedans once in 1298 A.D., and again in 1415 A.D., so that, at present, only a few magnificent fragments remain, namely,

the four pillars of the north porch, and five of the east porch to the *mandapa*, a beautiful *Torana* or *Kirtisthambha*, and certain other pillars, some of which are represented in Plate VI. The carved balcony-window in Plate XLVI is a beautiful specimen of the artistic wood-carving of Gujarât.

The old Temple of the Sun at Modherâ is "even now, in its ruin and decay, an imposing structure, with a majestic beauty, rarely met with in such remains. No finer or more interesting structure remains in Northern Gujarât. * * * * But, perhaps, the most elegant and ornamental feature of this temple is the beautiful and richly decorated *sabha-mandapa* or *châvadi* which stands in front of the temple proper, and separated from it by a narrow passage," and which is represented in Plate L. From an inscription found in the back-wall of the shrine, it appears that this temple was built in 1026-27 A.D.

The most remarkable of the architectural antiquities at Vadanager are two magnificent *Kirtisthambhas* or triumphal arches which must, once, have formed part and parcel of a great temple of which not the least trace exists at the present day. These arches are built of red and yellow sandstone without mortar or cementing material; and have been reproduced in Plates LVII and LIX, from which representations the grandeur of their conception, the beauty of their proportions, and the exquisite delicacy of their ornaments can be realized. In fact, these three splendid Hindu monuments of antiquities, namely, the triumphal arches at Vadanager, and the *Sabha-mandapa* attached to the temple of the Sun at Modhera lead one to think that the Hindu architects of Gujarât designed like Titans but finished like jewellers.

At Delmal, the sculpture (Plates LXIX, and LXXI, fig. 7) occurring on the west face of the south-east shrine, in the temple of Limboji-Mâtâ is curious by reason of the fact that it represents a blending of the Hindu Triad—Brahmâ, Vishnu and Civa—with the sun-god Surya, a combination which is somewhat unusual in Hindu mythology.

Scattered throughout the work under review, are interesting items of folklore which throw some side-lights on the religion, the popular beliefs and superstitions of the Hindus and Mahomedans of Gujarât. There is a legend connected with the Sahasraliṅga Talâv at Paṭṭana, which is to the effect that Jayasinha Siddharâja, king of Gujarât, sent for from Malwa some Ods* for excavating this tank. With them came a beautiful Odane maiden, by name Jasmâ. On the completion of the tank, she left with her tribe for her native place. Thereupon, King Siddharâja, who was smitten with her charms, pursued her to Modherâ where he killed some of her tribesmen to get forcible possession of her. In order,

* The Ods are a low caste, whose occupation is that of excavating tanks.

to avoid falling into the hands of the king, she committed suicide by stabbing herself, and, with her dying breath, cursed Siddharāja, saying that the tank would be devoid of water. When the king returned, baffled in his purpose, he found the tank empty. Thereupon, he consulted the sooth sayers who advised him that, if a human being was sacrificed in the tank, it would fill up with water. A victim was, accordingly, selected from among the Dheds or the Scavengers, who dwell in the outskirts of the towns, wore untwisted cotton round their heads and hung a stag's horn from their waist to distinguish them. The king ordered the victim to be sacrificed in the tank, and by way of reward to the dying man, proclaimed that his tribe should, thenceforth, be exempted from the disabilities of living outside the towns and of wearing the distinguishing badges of their caste. On the victim being sacrificed, the tank became filled with water. The incident of sacrificing human beings to propitiate the water-spirit for filling tanks and wells with water, is common enough in Indian folklore and occurs twice in Santal folktales.†

We have, then, an example of Sympathetic Magic, which is so prevalent among peoples in the lower culture, from the Gumada Masjid at Pattan. This mosque has walls made of sandstone which is full of hard or flinty nodules, about two inches in diameter. When the masons met with these nodules on the surface of the stone, they left them as small protuberances, in order to avoid spoiling their tools in chipping the same away. From the fancied resemblance of these protuberances to boils or ulcers (*gumadun*), the name of "Gumada" has been given to the *masjid*. People suffering from boils come to this mosque and anoint these stone-boils with *gur* (molasses) in the belief that, by so doing, they will be cured of their natural boils.

As throwing a side-light on the worship of the sacred basil plant and on the process, which has been going on in India from the remotest ages, of canonizing and ultimately deifying men of humble callings or inferior castes, who earned for themselves undying fame by their extraordinary religious piety or by inaugurating great spiritualistic revivals, of which process, instances are to be found in the cases of Rām Dās, the tanner; Dādu, cotton cleaner, Kabir, Mahommedan weaver; Tukā Rām, farmer; and Nāur Deo, the tailor, we have the following legend which is connected with the curious maze or labyrinth called Padmanāth at Pattan. Khān Aziz Kokah is said to have granted the site of this maze to the potters of Naharwālah, out of gratitude to a member of that caste, who cured him of an ulcer from which he was suffering. As a reward for effecting the cure, the potter, by name Padmanāth Kumbhār, asked for the piece of land on which the maze stands, for planting thereon beds of sacred basil (*tulasi*). This

† Vide Campbell's *Santal Folktales*, pp. 107, 124.

potter is now looked upon as an incarnation of Vishnu, and has given rise to a cult which has many adherents who worship him under the symbol of the *tulasi* plant. The potters, still, ply their calling at this maze which is of large area; and the walks are eight feet broad or more, and are sunk to some four or five feet below the level of the plots which are covered by a dense growth of trees, as well as of *tulasi* plants.

This naturally leads us to the subject of ancestor-worship, which has, in many Oriental countries and among many Asiatic races, developed into distinct forms of religion, as, for instance, the ancestor-worship of the Chinese. We have a remarkable example of this cult in the south of Delmal village, where, built into a long platform, are twenty-six *pāliyās* or memorial-stones which are known in the south as *virgals* or *virakallus*. These commemorate the deaths of certain persons who departed this life between *Sainvat 1513 and 1891 (A.D. 1457-1835). The portrait of the dead worthy, arrayed in his best clothes and, sometimes, riding on a horse, is graven on a panel on the upper portion of the slab, whereas, in some slabs, he is represented as standing beside his wife. The date is inscribed, in all cases, below the figures; while the sun, symbolised as a lotus blossom, and the moon appear above the figures, as the great and everlasting witnesses who will bear testimony to the worth of the deceased till eternity. These sculptures are exceedingly crude, being entirely devoid of expression or of the slightest animation of pose, as will appear from an examination of the five specimens of *pāliyās* reproduced in Plate LXXI. The first and second memorials commemorate the fact that two wives, in the first case, and one, in the second, immolated themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands, as is indicated by the woman's arms adorned with marriage-bracelets which are engraved therein; while the other three specimens are memorials of local heroes.

These funeral monuments are, frequently, erected in great numbers on the banks of reservoirs of water or around the gateways of towns. The relatives of the deceased worship at these memorial-stones once every year, either on the anniversary of the death, or on some other day fixed for the festival. Whenever a marriage takes place in the family of the deceased, the bridegroom and the bride go thither to pay their devours to their beatified ancestors. If a person, who has made a vow at one of these memorials, happens to have his heart's desire fulfilled, he entertains Brāhmans at that *pāliyā* or erects a temple there.

The worship of the primal energy of Nature, as represented by the Saktis or Mātās—the mother goddesses, is popular in Gujarāt. Among these goddesses may be mentioned Ambā,

Ambâji or Ambâ-Bhavâni whose shrine is in the Anâsur hills; that of Adgâ or Hajâri-mâtâ at Halwad; that of Ashâpurâ-mâtâ—the wish-fulfilling goddess at Mahar in Kachh; the Bhiladî-mâtâ of the Shenvâs, who is represented by a cocoanut, and many others.

At Dhinoj is the old temple of Vyâghre'svarî, whose vehicle is the tiger (*vyâghra*) and who is the patron-goddess of the Sonis or goldsmiths of Gujarât and of the Mesri Srimâli Vâniyâs. It is not known whether this goddess has anything to do with tiger-worship, for the learned authors of the work under review have not stated anything on this point. But there is at Gayâ in Bihâr, the temple of a goddess named Vâghesvarî who is the patron goddess of tigers.*

Although the demolition of many of the beautiful Hindu temples, or the defacement of the exquisite monuments of antiquity in Gujarât, is due to the iconoclastic zeal of the Mahomedan conquerors, who were led to commit these sacrilegious acts by the tenets of their religion, the vandalism of the latter day Hindus of Gujarât, who, to save themselves the trifling cost of some building materials, remove by cartloads the fragments of sculpture of priceless value for burning the same into lime, or that of the modern and ubiquitous railway-contractor, who utilizes the beautiful remains of antiquity in building the piers of railway-bridges, and culverts, and in metalting the permanent way, is quite inexcusable. Nowhere has the latter personage displayed a greater spirit of vandalism than in the destruction of the beautiful remains of Chandrâvatî which was, once, the capital of the Paramâra Râjâs, and is mentioned in ancient legends and poems. These beautiful remains existed till about the third decade of the last century. But nothing now remains of the same, save a solitary column which, by its loneliness, accentuates the desolation around it—the rest of the remains having been used wholesale in the construction of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. This is but a typical example out of the many ruthless acts of destruction which are daily taking place in this country. The Government is able to devote its attention to the preservation of only the important monuments of antiquity. But the preservation of the ruins of historical towns and of other antiquarian remains of lesser importance has become a matter of urgent necessity. The destinies of India are now wielded by the most accomplished Viceroy she has ever had, who is already devoting much of his attention to this subject; and it is to be sincerely hoped that His Excellency will promulgate orders for the adoption, by the departments concerned, of speedy steps for the preservation of such architec-

* *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, pp. 162-3.

tural antiquities as the Ruins of Chandrâvatî, which are being rapidly destroyed by modern vandals against whose acts of destruction the learned authors of the work under review have, in sundry places, raised their voice of protest.

ÆSCYÆM.

India: Past and Present, by John Murdoch, LL D. Madras. 1903.

THIS interesting brochure deals with some of the much-vexed problems of Indian administration. In writing it, the author, to quote his own words, has been actuated by "the sole desire to benefit the people of India by attempting to remove some misconceptions, and by showing the steps which are necessary to promote the well-being of the country." He has further invited educated Indians and the Indian Press to calmly and dispassionately consider the measures that have been suggested by him and, if they approve of the same, to accord their hearty support to them.

No one can question that what England has, already, done for India has entitled her to the gratitude of the Indian people. She has established the *Pax Britannica* throughout India and given it security from foreign invasion and intestine warfare; under her fostering care, education has made considerable progress in this country, and the people that "walked in darkness have seen a great light;" ideas of national life and progress are fast spreading from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin; the various branches of public service have been thoroughly organized and considerably purged of all possible sources of corruption; the moral tone of the people has been considerably elevated, and several pernicious customs, which are intolerable to a civilized Government whose moral ideas are based on the Christian code of ethics, have been abolished; and the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man are beginning to be acknowledged. But there can be no gainsaying the fact that she has still very much to do towards India. Every sincere well-wisher of India trusts to the generosity of the English Government and the good sense of the English people and confidently expects that she will grant to the Indian people the hoped-for boons at no distant date, for there are, in her Councils, Statesman,

"Who know the seasons when to take
Occasion by the hand and make
The bounds of freedom wider yet."

Among the problems, which the Government of India has lately had to deal with, it has had to answer the question: "Is India becoming richer or poorer?" That section of the Indian Press and Public, which constitutes the Opposition of the English Government in India, has answered the question by

saying that India is becoming poorer and poorer under British rule, that her poverty is due to over-assessment of the land-revenue and that, devastated as this country has been by successive famines, the Indian peasants have lost all resisting power and are, therefore, falling easy victims to starvation by hundreds of thousands. The author of the *brochure* under notice disagrees with this view of the aforementioned school of Indian politicians who are headed by Messrs. R. C. Dutt, W. Digby, and Da Naoroji and others, and has attempted therein to show that "India, as a whole, is very much richer and is becoming wealthier, but there is an increasing number of people earning a precarious living as labourers, and unless vigorous measures are adopted, things will get worse and worse." But some of the authorities, as for instance, Sir W. W. Hunter, relied on by the author, admit, in no uncertain terms, that "the people of India are very poor." Dr. Myrdoch is, however, at one with the aforementioned school of politicians in thinking that a Commission ought to be appointed, to enquire into the present incidence of the Land Tax and what it ought to be, and that this body should extend its enquiries, not over the whole of India, but over representative districts.

As the raiyats form the great bulk of the Indian population, and obtain their livelihood by following agricultural pursuits, some reforms are urgently needed for ameliorating their condition. From time immemorial, they have lived from hand to mouth, making no provision for the future, and defraying their extraordinary expenditure, as on the occasions of marriages and *sraddhs*, by borrowing. The former Hindu and Mahomedan Governments of this country knew these trials of their character and, therefore, used to help them out of their pecuniary difficulties by giving them *takairs* or advances of money from time to time. Even, after the establishment of British rule in India this system of making *takair* advances to them was continued by the British Government. But it fell into disuse during the first quarter of the last century, although such advances are still given to raiyats who cultivate opium. On this point, Dr. Murdoch says: "Ryots might suffer, but not the opium revenue. By withholding a privilege which ryots had enjoyed for centuries, both under Hindu and Mahomedan rule, the British Government for a century has caused to the ryots an untold amount of misery largely counterbalancing other benefits." He has, therefore, suggested that, for the purpose of saving the raiyats from the clutches of the all-devouring money-lender and otherwise assisting them, the old system of giving them *takair* advances should be adopted and agricultural banks should be established, both of which should be carefully tested in selected districts, and the future policy determined by the experience gained.

Another reform suggested by Dr. Murdoch is that the Government should devote its attention to the development of manufacturers. The opinion of the Indian public has, already, been awakened to the importance of this subject. Several industrial exhibitions have already been held in different parts of India for the purpose of showing the world at large what the Indians are capable of manufacturing. For the carrying out of this reform, Dr. Murdoch has suggested : (1) The organization of a separate department ; (2) an industrial survey ; and (3) a well-devised system of industrial, commercial and technical education. It appears to us very doubtful whether the appointment of a highly-paid Director-General of Manufactures will have any effect on the development of manufacturing industries in this country. The second means suggested, namely, the industrial survey is already in course of progress, for well-illustrated monographs on the different branches of arts and industries practised in every Province of India, are being carefully prepared by experts and published by the Government in its *Journal of Indian Arts and Industry*. Besides, collections illustrative of such arts and industries are exhibited in the Economic and Art Section of the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and in several Provincial Museums. Of course, the third means suggested by Dr. Murdoch is worthy of some consideration. Suppose that, according to his suggestion, well-equipped Technical Colleges are established, and Indian youths are trained therein in various branches of art industries. But where is the trained student to find his professional career ? How is he to turn his technical knowledge into account for earning his livelihood ? Man liveth not by knowledge alone. He has, also, to supply the material requirements of his daily life.

The people of India are, admittedly, very poor, and cannot therefore, afford to buy the articles of luxury which are the products of such art industries as carving, pottery or sculpture. Unless there is any demand for such articles, there will be no supply thereof under these circumstances, the trained student will, for want of employment suitable to his professional knowledge, "accept a modest billet in the service of Government." Of course, the indigenous arts and manufactures can, to a certain extent, be developed by training youths in their technics and by finding suitable careers for them, when their art education is finished. But we are firmly of opinion that the struggling industries of India can be saved from utter extinction, only if the Government will protect them with tariffs and bounties as is done for them by Governments in independent countries.

At page 71, Dr. Murdoch says : " If proper means are used Indians in increasing numbers will enter the Civil Service. The foolish prejudice against crossing the sea should be given up, and

the course of study should be carefully adopted to the requirements of the service." He does not say what these "means" are. The omission should be supplied in the next edition. It appears to us that the chief obstacles to the entry of Indians, in increasing numbers, into the Civil Service, are the poverty of Indian students, and the gradually-increasing preponderance of the questions couched in Greek and Latin, which are set at the examinations, and which greatly handicap Indian candidates who are well-founded only in the classical languages of India.

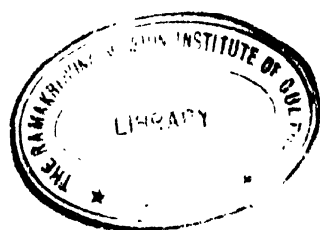
The *brochure* concludes with an appeal to the Indian National Congress for its co-operation and makes some suggestions for the better organization of that body.

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